

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



SEPTEMBER, 1959



## EDITORIALS

The New Archivist of the Church Historical Society: Dr. Virginia Nelle Bellamy. . . . "The Clerical Directory, 1959" . . . Ordinations by Bishop Robert Smith of South Carolina.

JOHN MASON NEALE (1818-1866): Versatile Divine, Warden of Sackville College, Founder of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret  
*By William H. Bar*

AMERICAN PAPERS IN LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY  
*By Geoffrey Hill*

THE LIBRARY OF ROBERT LEIGHTON (1611-1684),  
BISHOP OF DUNBLANE *By G. W. H. Davidson*

"LO, I COME TO DO THY WILL, O GOD": An Appreciation  
of Bishop Charles Henry Brent (1862-1929)  
*By Frederick Ward Katz*

REVIEWS: I. American Church History and Bio-  
graphy.  
II. English and General Church History.  
III. Theology and Philosophy.

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## of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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## Editorials

### The New Archivist of the Church Historical Society: Dr. Virginia Nelle Bellamy



HOSE who have followed the fortunes of the Church Historical Society will recall that, upon the removal of its headquarters to Austin, Texas, in 1956, to share with the Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest the occupancy of the latter's new fireproof and air-conditioned library building, the Librarian of the Seminary, Mr. Frederick L. Chenery, graciously agreed to serve as Librarian of the Society until the latter was in a better financial condition to have a full-time Archivist of its own. Thanks to the large-minded provision of the General Convention of 1958, this became possible during 1959.

On May 14, 1959, the Board of Directors unanimously elected Virginia Nelle Bellamy, Ph.D., as Archivist of the Society, and she took up residence in Austin on June 1st last.

Dr. Bellamy was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, and received her B.S. degree from East Tennessee State College, and her M.A. and Ph.D., degrees from the Graduate School of Religion, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. She spent two years in the Divinity School at Duke, and held the Kearns Fellowship there for two years.

Dr. Bellamy has had an experience unique among American women, and, as far as we know, among women all over the world: She taught ecclesiastical history, ending with the rank of professor, in the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Kentucky at Lexington for six years! For three years, she did some part-time teaching in the literature of the Bible in the English Department of the University of Kentucky.

Dr. Bellamy is a member of the American Society of Church History, and is an associate member of the American Theological Library Association.

The Church Historical Society is indeed fortunate to have as its full-time Archivist a person with the knowledge and experience possessed by Dr. Bellamy. We congratulate the Society, and we wish Dr. Bellamy happiness and fruitful service in her important post.

WALTER H. STOWE.

### "The Clerical Directory 1959"

THE student of the history of the American Church in the twentieth century has a much easier time in identifying the clergy and writing up clerical biographies than his colleague working in the field of the nineteenth century. Ironically, the biographer dealing with the eighteenth-century Church will find it easier to identify clergymen of this Church than his nineteenth century colleague. The reasons are not hard to find: We have clerical directories covering the twentieth century thus far; the S.P.G. and historians of the colonial period have pretty well identified the clergy working in colonial America.

Whether working in the history of the present or the preceding century, the ecclesiastical historian should be familiar with two articles published in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

MOREHOUSE, Clifford P., "Almanacs and Year Books of the Episcopal Church," Vol. X (1941), pp. 330-353.

STOWE, Walter H., "Clerical Directories—Past and Present," Vol. X (1941), pp. 390-398.

The *Directory*, which appears once in three years—after each triennial session of the General Convention—is always very welcome to those who are interested in the *current* history of the Church. In the 1959 edition are biographies of the 8,800 clergy of the American Episcopal Church, of deaconesses, and other features. Early in 1960, a supplement to the *Directory*, containing biographies of clergy newly ordained and received in 1959, will be published and sent to all purchasers of the 1959 edition without additional charge.

The publishers have this to say about the latest edition:

This is the twentieth issue of the *Directory*, formerly *Stowe's Clerical Directory*,\* over a sixty-one year period beginning in 1898, the sixth under the aegis of the Fund.

It is the third edition to carry group photographs of the clergy. The Foreword brings out that individual photographs would be out of the question; yet, from every standpoint, photographs are desirable, and the group approach serves the purpose.

\* The Rev. Frederick E. J. Lloyd initiated the idea, and published six issues: 1898, 1903, 1905, 1910, 1911, and 1913. In 1916, Dr. Lloyd sold his *Directory* to the Rev. Dr. Andrew David Stowe (1851-1925), who published three issues of *Stowe's Clerical Directory*: 1917, 1920, and 1924. Following his death, his daughter, Grace Stowe Fish, continued as editor and publisher: 1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, and 1938. In 1940, Mrs. Fish sold the *Directory* to The Church Pension Fund, and all editions since then, beginning in 1941, have been published by the present owners.—*Editor's Note.*

A list of those who have died since the 1956 issue is included, and a list of those deposed.

For the second time, a summary of actions taken by General Convention is included, carefully prepared by Mr. Peter Day, the editor of *The Living Church*. It contains also, as the second in a continuing series, an article by the Very Rev. Darby W. Betts, entitled "The Church's Evolving Architecture, 1955-1958," accompanied by photographs of interesting churches built during the triennial period since publication of the 1956 edition.

Punctuation in the biographies has been greatly simplified, a step requiring complete re-editing. The text has been set up by a recently developed machine that resembles a typewriter, although the type is of book design. The printing is by offset, rather than by letter-press as in the past. Both changes keep costs down.

Biographies of clergy ordained through 1958 are included. Other biographical data are up to date through June 1958, the closing date for new information. "The long and exacting task of preparing the biographies has been under the efficient supervision of Sue M. Breen," says the Foreword.

It is "a mine of information of vital nature to the Church," the Foreword adds. Copies may be obtained by writing direct to the office of The Church Pension Fund at 20 Exchange Place, New York City. The price, including the Supplement, is \$10. per copy, postage free.

WALTER H. STOWE.

### Ordinations by Bishop Robert Smith of South Carolina

THE Rev. Dr. E. C. Chorley, in his *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*,<sup>1</sup> page 156, states that the first Bishop of South Carolina, the Rt. Rev. Robert Smith, held no ordinations in that state. Reference should be made, however, to Burgess' *List of Persons Admitted to the Order of Deacons*,<sup>2</sup> in which the following are listed as having been ordained by Bishop Smith:

<sup>1</sup> The Hale Lectures (New York, 1946).

<sup>2</sup> GEORGE BURGESS (1809-1866), second Bishop of Maine (1847-1866), was the compiler. The manuscript was prepared for publication (Boston, 1875) after Bishop Burgess' death by the Rev. William S. Bartlet, of Chelsea, Massachusetts. The latter said of Bishop Burgess' work:

"It was only by unwearied labor, the exercise of no little tact, and a large expenditure of money on the part of the deceased prelate that he drew from a variety of sources the information which he has digested into a volume. Such universal love and respect were felt for him, that doubtless he succeeded in

<i>Number</i>		<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
158	Thomas D. Bladen	ord.	Dec. 20, 1795
159	Milward Pogson	ord.	Dec. 20, 1795
160	John Thompson (Thomson)	ord.	Dec. 20, 1795
164	Edmund Matthews	ord.	Dec. 19, 1796
176	William Guirey	ord.	Mar. 11, 1798
189	William Best	ord.	June 16, 1799
200	James Hamilton Ray	ord.	June 21, 1801

It would appear that Bishop Smith was not as deficient in episcopal oversight as we have been led to believe.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Glyndon, Maryland.*

NELSON W. RIGHTMYER.

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collecting material for his work when most others would have failed. If the compilation . . . had been left to the present day [i.e. 1875], it would be next to impossible to find any individual who could successfully execute such a work. . . ."

# John Mason Neale (1818-1866)

*Versatile Divine, Warden of Sackville College, and  
Founder of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret*

By William H. Baar\*

**J**OHN MASON NEALE was one of the most versatile divines in the history of the Church of England, and the perspective of one hundred years reveals him as one of the most influential clergymen in a century studded with brilliant names.

Neale's work was many-sided: Church historian, theologian, liturgiologist, hymn translator and writer, poet, story writer, spiritual guide, and a marvellous linguist.

His continuing influence in the American Episcopal Church is evidenced by the fact that of the six hundred hymns in *The Hymnal 1940*, thirty-nine are from the pen of Neale as writer or translator—many more than from the hand of any other one person.

The recognition he received in the Church Militant was exceedingly meager, and American Churchmen can be proud that one of our own institutions—Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut—appreciated his talents and contributions, and honored itself as well as Neale by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was a prophet without honor in his own country, for no English institution ever honored him in like manner.

## Introduction

**W**HILE the spotlight of history was on Oxford and the Oxford Movement, John Mason Neale was working quietly at Cambridge for the Catholic revival of the Church of England. Neale never achieved the notoriety of Newman or of Pusey, and yet he was more representative of the whole revival than either of them. In fact, he touched the Anglican revival at so many crucial points, and combined within himself so many of its interests, that the movement can scarcely be studied without constant reference to his name. A tribute to Neale, written by a devoted follower, reveals the enormous scope of his activities:

\*The Rev. Dr. Barr is Director of Brent House, the Episcopal University Center at the University of Chicago.—*Editor's note.*

In conjunction with others, he was the first to attempt a revival of Church architecture: he was personally and singly the first to attempt a revival of English hymnody; he was the first of the present generation to call attention to the Eastern Church; he was the first to revive the notion of Sisterhoods. Now it is past doubt even by the confession of foes, that these are four points absolutely won and incorporated into the current policy of the Church of England. . . . We ought to place on record his slowness to take offense, his patience of contradiction, his easy generosity of mind.<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent at once that Neale did not limit himself to the intellectual side of the Anglican revival. We know him best for his many books and his scholarly research into historical subjects. His translations of Greek and Latin hymns have won him a permanent place in the hymn-books of all English-speaking peoples. Yet, in the midst of these endeavors, he founded a sisterhood, an orphanage, and two or three day schools. At the same time, he was chaplain and director of a home for the aged, called "Sackville College."

Thus while some ardent Catholics restricted their endeavors to architecture, and some concerned themselves with patristic and mediaeval theology, others devoted their energies to a rediscovery of the songs of historic Christendom, or to the works of mercy, or to the tasks of reunion of the Churches. Neale manifested not only an interest in all of these concerns, but himself made a substantial contribution to each, even in his short lifetime of forty-eight years.

He was unquestionably one of the most comprehensively erudite scholars of his age, and a theologian of no small attainment. Gifted with a fondness for intellectual labor and an extraordinarily retentive memory, this seemingly indefatigable student became one of the most learned and voluminous writers of his generation. There was scarcely any branch of theological literature in which he did not distinguish himself. He wrote novels, hymns, histories, sermons, catechetical texts, Biblical commentaries, devotional books, doctrinal dissertations, and impressive poetical works. He learned twenty-two languages as tools for research and spent long hours in translating. He quietly let it be known that he valued the works of others much more highly than his own, and thus spent more time and care in translating than in original composition.

Newman once said that a church might be judged by its capacity to produce saints. This age of Anglican revival would probably have impressed Newman more than it did if he had had the benefit of our his-

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale*, edited by his daughter (London, 1910), p. 372.

torical perspective. It was this revival which produced the singularly devoted personalities of Keble and Pusey and a host of others much less spectacular but not less dedicated. Neale was not personally known to Newman, but his name unquestionably belongs on the list of saintly scholars. These were men of the highest type, morally and intellectually, of whom any age could be proud.

There was another class of men who followed in the wake of the intellectual leaders of the movement. They were the "active" members of the revival who carried the new spirit into parochial Church life. In excellence of character and zeal, they were a good match for the intellectual leaders. Who could forget the self-sacrificing labors of Machonochie, Richards, and the hosts of other gifted, young men, who competed among themselves for parishes in the poorest and most desolate sections of London? Neale takes his place among these "apostles to the masses." The faith of these men in England's Church was tested and tried. In the heat of on-rushing events, they had in a moment to make decisions on which most men can for a lifetime deliberate. Yet they paid the price for their convictions in anxiety, misunderstanding and slander. Without hesitation, they embraced the faith that was so seriously threatened. Inner certainty grew as external authority thundered. Persecution terrorized the few and strengthened the many. The outrageous attitude of the authorities gave the leaders of the Catholic revival an ever widening insight into the lives of the downtrodden and dispossessed, and this warm glow of sympathy became manifestly mutual as time went on. The Catholic Revival thus reached the masses in a unique and spectacular way.

Neale belongs as much to this "active" as to the "contemplative" or intellectual side of the movement. He was priest and professor at the same time. Thus, to study his life and work is to see the revival in its many-sidedness and in its complexity. His interests and the interests of the revival coincided in a way that cannot be discovered in the life of any other man of his time. Never was a man more completely the exemplification of a movement or a movement a more complete exemplification of a man. Brief as his life was, it was significant for every aspect of the revival.

John Mason Neale was born on January 24, 1818. His father was an Anglican clergyman of Evangelical sympathies, and his mother was a rigid Calvinist. Due to the death of his father when little (Neale was but five years of age), the grim, legalistic creed of Calvin predominated in his early training. Between sermons at Dartmouth Chapel on Sun-



days, Mrs. Neale was accustomed to read a printed sermon for the further edification of her children. On his thirteenth birthday, Neale received the following presents, all books to be sure: Leighton's *Holy Life*, Wilson's *Evidences of Christianity*, *Jewish Records*, Walter's *Christian*, and Watts, *The Improvement of the Mind*.<sup>2</sup>

Neale won a scholarship to Cambridge University, and it was here that he came under the spell of the Catholic Revival. Here was a faith quite new to him. It was objective and mysterious at the same time; morally demanding, and the creed of saints; and, yet, kind, warm and considerate of human weakness, including the struggling masses of all ages. Here was a worship of liturgy and splendor, without an indifferent forgetfulness of the poor, in whose lives there could be little enough of splendor. Here and throughout the ages was the Church founded by Christ, the Church of Peter and Paul, of Irenaeus and Augustine, the noble army of martyrs and the goodly fellowship of the prophets. Although Neale had always been considered a gifted student, his real awakening both as a scholar and as a personality may be said to have come when he discovered the Catholic faith. From then on, his studies had a consuming purpose, as he allowed himself to be swept along by an overwhelming tide. From this time on, he flourished intellectually and spiritually for the rest of his life.

In 1841, Neale was ordained deacon, and the next year he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1843, he married Sarah Norman Webster, a kindly and generous woman of Catholic sympathies. They had five children, and their life was one of great happiness in spite of Neale's occasional delicacy of health.

### His Steadfast Faith in the Anglican Church

On November 10, 1844, Neale received a letter from his friend, Benjamin Webb of London, full of the storm and stress, doubt and fear which was the mood characterizing the Church of England at the time of the secession of John Henry Newman: "Rumors from many different and those most authoritative quarters have been about to the effect that Newman had at last determined to secede. . . . I know we do not feel quite alike about this. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Continuing Webb makes a prediction that reveals his own extreme nervousness and concern:

I'll tell you what I believe will be the result of all this. Newman and almost all the truehearted will secede, one by one: our Erastian

<sup>2</sup> Isa I. Postgate, *On the Roll of Honour* (London, 1922), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 77.

establishment will go on in some new vagary of protestantism. The struggle will leave no more trace than the Laudian or Non-juring. Happy if any of those entangled in our net can save their souls by their flounder to get free. It seems to me one had need hope there is a Purgatory for our own sakes.<sup>4</sup>

To all of this Neale replies that he hopes and believes that Newman will not secede, but that if he does, it will not be cause for despair.<sup>5</sup> He points to a revival of life in the English Church, and says that such a revival has never occurred among heretics:

"You cannot point out a single instance of an heretical . . . body which after apparent death awoke to new life. The Donatists might have done it, the Copts might have done it, the Nestorians might have done it, but they have not."

If the Church of England were heretical, how could she be the "startling anomaly to all past experiences," in the exhibition of new life?<sup>6</sup> This argument did not seem to impress Webb very much, for a little later he wrote again in an increasingly serious state of anxiety, even suggesting the dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society, "Now we fear the worst . . . things are in a dreadful state. . . . The laity are rising to a man against us . . . we poor aesthetical fellows get kicks from all."<sup>7</sup> Neale calmly replies, "I am more and more averse to the dissolution of the Society. I should like to be freed from an University yoke and then set free again."<sup>8</sup> Neale was no doubt excited, but he would not allow himself to become thoroughly confounded or put to confusion. In speaking of the Cambridge seceders, he writes,

"If they do go, they will be less excusable than the Oxford seceders. They have not to contend against Newman's immense personal influence. They have not been irritated by personal persecution."<sup>9</sup>

Demonstrating that the best defense is offence, Neale calls attention to the policy of the Roman Church in England and "the unfair character of their controversial writers . . . the crooked ways in which men . . . have left us, by no means edifying."<sup>10</sup>

When Newman finally did leave, Neale wrote,

"As to me, this even can have no influence, expecting that, naturally, when one's mother is betrayed, however weakly or wickedly

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

she may have acted, (neither of which is the case) . . . one is more desirous than ever of working for her and serving her."<sup>11</sup>

It is interesting to note how little impressed was Neale with Newman and his spectacular leadership while so many of their contemporaries were utterly swept off their feet. There was hardly a more enamored following than that which Newman enjoyed. While they spoke of Newman's sermons as if they were the very models of perfection, Neale held that Andrewes and Taylor were as "superior to him as one man can be to another."<sup>12</sup> When Webb "trembled" at the thought of Newman's book that was reputed to contain an unassailable proof that the English Church was schismatic,<sup>13</sup> Neale replied that he had such confidence in the English Church that if he were to feel shaken by the beginning of the book, he would put it down unread.<sup>14</sup> Neale could not quite understand how men who unquestionably loved and believed in the English Church could sit by, waiting for proof that she was not a true Church at all. These men had been bewitched, however eloquent the charm or persuasive the personality. He would not surrender to such dazzling argumentation. "I cannot express to you," he writes, "the firmness of my conviction. It seems to grow upon me the more the others waver."<sup>15</sup>

Neale seemed to possess a natural resistance to Newman's rhetoric, recognizing in its ratiocinative author a dangerous brilliance that could do violence to truth even while the facts seemed unmolested. Neale felt that Newman's artistry with words had become an intellectual hazard. It seemed to him that the atmosphere of adulation in which Newman moved and breathed was spiritually unhealthy. In short, it appeared to Neale that Newman's easy fluency and his friend's ready admiration of it, had carried him a long way down a very perilous road. He had no intention of leaving the English Church to go on such a journey.

Neale had known enough of leadership to have become well aware of the temptations to self-deception which even the best intentioned leaders sometime experience. Adulation seemed to anger rather than to please him. Once when he had received a letter of praise from his best friend, Webb, he replied in the following words,

You cannot tell how painful it is to me to receive such letters as part of yours this morning. If you could but see how utterly and totally

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*

and miserably unworthy I am to work with the rest of us in Church matters, you would not write in the same strain. This is one harm of writing books, they make people think so much the better of one than one deserves, and I sometimes fear lest the, "ex ore tuo te iudicabo ignave serve," may not in That Day be said to me. All this by the way of beginning and entreating you not to write in that manner again, for I cannot bear it.<sup>16</sup>

This letter, anything but temperate in tone to an intimate friend, can hardly be taken but at face value. Neale knew from personal experience the pitfalls of those who become greatly admired leaders of parties and movements. Unquestionably, he could not trust Newman, because he thought that he had become enmeshed in his own brilliance and ensnarled in his own lucidity. When Webb reminded Neale that Newman was in quest of nothing but the truth, Neale replied that they all had truth as the object of their quest.<sup>17</sup> Somehow, much to the discomfiture of Neale, Newman had succeeded too well in dramatizing his quest, so much so that others became mere spectators, and the struggle appeared exclusively his. Entranced they were to follow where he would lead. For this reason, it always seemed strange to Neale that Newman never considered it necessary to apologize to those whom in his own opinion he had led astray during the period of his Anglican ministry. Was there no obligation to those impressionable young men who had crowded the University chapel morning and evening for all those years? Leadership implied more responsibility than that, as Neale saw it. Thus Neale could trust Newman neither as a man nor as a scholar. He put his trust in the Church of England.

It should not be implied that Neale was unsympathetic with Newman's constructive work on behalf of the Catholic Revival. Along with all of the rest of the Catholic-minded churchmen, he had welcomed the early writings of Newman and his followers in Oxford. What seemed inexplicable to Neale was that Newman was not willing to remain in the English Church and work for the revival of things doctrinal and liturgical that they all longed for, and which Newman himself had presumably demonstrated were a part of the true, Anglican tradition. Thus, while thoroughly sympathetic with Newman at the beginning, Neale could not be carried away by the aura of devotion which surrounded him, and he steadfastly refused to be caught up in the vast wave of doubt and timidity concerning the English Church stirred up by his secession in 1845. Webb was very disgusted with Neale's immunity

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

to this contagion, and he did not hesitate to say so. He changed his mind later.

There were other contributing factors to Neale's comparative serenity even while other men's hearts were failing them for fear. Neale had troubles of his own. His health had become delicate, and he had gone to Madeira and Reigate and had remained there during much of the furor. It may well be that his comparative remoteness from the situation helped to keep him calm in the storm.

Much more important than this, however, is the fact that Neale's depth and breadth of experience contributed to a remoteness that was more than geographical. He was in conversation, as it were, with all of the great teachers of old, men of holy life, Eastern and Western. He knew the conflict and stress of the Church through the ages, and realized that God's ship was designed to weather many a gale. He could quietly predict that even though the first generation of reformers should be absorbed by the Roman Church, that the second generation would remain and revitalize the Church of England. With full confidence in the English Church, he wrote,

"I am quite sure that if we don't desert ourselves, God will not desert us. . . . If Andrewes is not saved (who had far less reason than we have to remain), there are so few that will be, that really, it can little matter whether one goes or not."<sup>18</sup>

Neale preserved the perspective of the centuries and was willing to wait more than one generation for success if necessary. In another letter, he writes, "I am haunted day and night with a beautiful theory beneath which, oh, how far is our present and the present Roman practice."<sup>19</sup>

Neale had already begun to learn of the Eastern Churches, and had acquired such a profound admiration for them that he did not need to seek his Catholicism in Rome. In fact, Rome contrasted very unfavorably in his mind with the venerable East. It seemed like a modern and poor copy of the ancient, historic Churches. Newman's doctrine of "development" raised more problems for Neale than it answered. The Eastern emphasis on the original and unchanging was much more congenial to Neale, and although his "beautiful ideal" could not be said to have been realized even in the East, his knowledge of the Eastern Churches influenced him greatly. Certainly, it had this effect, that while others looked to Rome, he found that attraction very little, indeed.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Important as all of these reasons may be, they do not fully explain Neale's immunity to Newman's contagious doubt. One time, when he had done something very courageous, Neale shrugged off compliments by saying that bravery was more constitutional than moral.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, in this situation, Neale would not want to take any credit for it, but his calmness and unshakable loyalty to the English Church reveal a depth of faith and character which many of his contemporaries lacked. Pusey, writing of Newman's secession said,

"It looks as if some good purpose for our Church had failed; and that an instrument raised for her had not been employed as God willed. . . . Our Church has not known how to employ him. . . . He has gone as a simple act of duty. . . ." <sup>21</sup>

Neale comments concerning this point of view,

I cannot pretend to agree with it, because if the step was not right, it must have been very wrong. . . . I think Dr. Pusey's letter goes too much on the hypothesis that God cannot raise up some one of Newman's talents in our Church or do His own work without them.<sup>22</sup>

Subsequent history has revealed that Newman's life in the Roman Church was marked by the feeling that, even there, he was not given sufficient opportunity for the exercise and expansion of his great gifts. Neale's talent, in contrast to this attitude, was the ability to forget himself without conscious effort. If Andrewes were not saved, he would not be concerned about himself. If the first generation were to desert the Church, he would pin his hopes upon the second. There was little thought about the use which the Church would make of him, or whether or not the Church would know how to employ him.

In his studies of hymnology, architecture, liturgy and Church history, Neale knew that he had entered into communion with the best that there was or ever had been, and this brought a refreshing and reanimating serenity to his life. He never could have been guilty of such a lack of imagination as to believe that he had to submit to Rome to feel that he belonged to the same Church as Athanasius or Basil. He could have no part in self-seeking, for the strife for prominence and influence was as repugnant to him as it was to St. Francis. He was quite willing to lose himself in his work, careless of results in an outward sense, of

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>21</sup> Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale, D.D.* (London, 1906), p. 133.

<sup>22</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 85.

recognition, or of the emoluments of the world. The real Christian, he believed, could imitate Christ anywhere.

Perhaps it is in this desire to imitate our Lord that the inspiration for Neale's priesthood lay. In his study of architecture, he found that the chief characteristic of true, Church architecture was in its "sacramentality." Everything spoke of Christ. Veritably, even the stones cried out! In the Psalms, Neale perceived the pre-existent Christ. Behind the veil of even the subtlest allusion, stood the Christ-in-expectation. Thus in his priesthood, it was the Christ-in-imitation that Neale discerned. Neale's whole priesthood was viewed as an opportunity to emulate his Lord.

### Warden of Sackville College

The "quiet," remote arena for the practice of the *Imitatio Christi*, was to be Sackville College, a home for twenty-five to thirty old people. It was here that the whole of Neale's priesthood was spent. Having returned from Madeira much improved in health, Neale with his wife and children stayed at Reigate. It was on Epiphany, 1846, that he wrote to Webb,

"I must tell you of getting a little piece of preferment, such as it is; but it would suit me. It is the Wardenship of Sackville College . . . wretchedly out of order, but capable of great things."<sup>23</sup>

Most men of his age would not have been so enthusiastic about such a post. The college was isolated, unknown, and ecclesiastically unimportant. He accepted the call gladly, and on May 26, 1846, took up his residence at the college.<sup>24</sup> Neale describes in his own words the nature of the college:

It was founded in 1608 by Robert, second Earl of Dorset for the shelter and maintenance of thirty poor and aged householders, under the charge of a warden and two sub-wardens. . . . Interminable lawsuits . . . reduced the funds of the establishment to an exceedingly low ebb fifty years after its foundation, the inmates were reduced to starvation, and painfully and urgently petitioned parliament for help. . . . Finally the college though shorn of a large portion of its original revenues, was enabled to afford a stipend of fourteen pounds per annum to each of twelve poor pensioners, and double that sum to the warden.<sup>25</sup>

That Neale should have accepted this call, not as an invitation to

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139f.



self-denial but joyfully, "as capable of great things," as the place of his lifelong ministry, shows more eloquently than words the inner character and strength of the young priest, and at the same time explains why a man like Newman, and the onrushing sensationalism of the events that surrounded his life and work, could not have dislodged Neale from his desire to be a priest in the Church of England, to renew all that was Catholic in her, and to die in her Communion. If Sackville College seems to us to have been an ideal place for the ministry of Neale, we should remember that it was not because he found it so, but because he made it so. When Neale is compared with others in the Catholic Revival, he is distinguished, not so much as one who embraced the Catholic faith, but as one who, having embraced it, set out to bring it to others as he was called, planting the seed in gardens if possible but in deserts if necessary, that, by all means, the holy faith might grow and flower where it might.

As soon as he arrived at Sackville College, Neale began to inculcate the Catholic life. There was apparently no altar-service at the college, for Neale had to write for a chalice and paten with which to celebrate the Holy Communion on Whit-Monday and Tuesday.<sup>26</sup> It seemed to be taken for granted, in spite of the age and poor health of many of the pensioners, that if they desired the sacrament, they should receive it at the occasional celebrations at the parish church.

The whole college was in need of improvement, both spiritually and physically. The buildings were falling down, the hall was practically unsafe, the chapel was unfit for use, and many rooms intended for pensioners were unoccupied because of the reduction in funds.<sup>27</sup> The new warden set about with characteristic energy to overcome this chronic mordancy, the result of years of indifference and neglect. At the suggestion of Neale, the patron, Lord De La Warr, heir of the founder of Sackville College, restored the hall, opened the fireplace and built chimney corners where the old pensioners might find warmth and comfort. Disheveled old rooms were made habitable for the homeless who, though not entitled to college pay, might, nevertheless, have a roof over their heads. This was Neale's idea of a way to use the full facilities of the house in spite of the decreased endowment. When he came into residence, there were five rooms on the ground floor in which wood was stacked. These were all renovated with the help of those who had poor relatives or friends for whom they were willing to provide in this small

<sup>26</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> J. M. Neale, *A History of Sackville College* (London), pp. 73-76.



way.<sup>28</sup> These rooms were thus inhabited for the first time within the memory of any of the aged inhabitants. The benefits of the college were to be extended to as many as possible.

Naturally, the restoration of the chapel was close to the heart of the warden and could not, therefore, be long delayed. In May, a fire completed the destructive work of years of slow decay, and the chapel was in complete ruins. Services were carried on in a schoolroom where Neale set up an altar and a litany desk made out of the remains of a stall the day he arrived. On July 25, St. James' Day, construction of the new chapel was quietly begun, and on November 23, Evening Prayer was read in the new edifice.<sup>29</sup> Neale gives us a good description of the chapel. It was apparently built on the ruins of the old one and incorporated some of its features:

The East end was thrown out about eight feet and flanked with two angular buttresses . . . the altar is raised on four steps; the two upper are paved with small encaustic tiles of four colors; the rest of the chapel is floored with tiles of two colors laid in pattern. . . . In the choir are eighteen stalls appropriated to the pensioners who here sit within the rood-screen . . . the screen itself is rather elaborate. . . .<sup>30</sup>

The enthusiasm of the young priest-builder is scarcely disguised in the description of the restoration. Sackville College had always had a "communion table," but here was an altar with cross and lights. There had always been a rood-beam but without the "rood," so some time after the dedication the warden saw that there was a fine, large cross placed at the top center. If this chapel does not sound "advanced" liturgically, we must remember that we are enjoying the fruits of the Catholic Revival today, and that we take for granted what had to be fought for in nineteenth century England. The very fact that this chapel sounds so "ordinary" if not barren to us today, is proof of the victory of the architectural principles advanced by Neale and others like him and translated into stone in Sackville College in 1846. Without the advantages of our historical perspective, the pensioners were content to compare the new chapel with the old one with its "brick floor slimy with green mould, blank white-washed walls . . . in an advanced state of decay."<sup>31</sup>

The general desolation of the material fabrics of worship was but

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76f.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. viii.

an external and outward indication of the poverty of the religious life at the college at the time of Neale's arrival. The wardenship of the college had not been held by a priest since 1685,<sup>32</sup> so that, not only had the celebration of Holy Communion been impossible, but also daily prayer, as originally enjoined in the founding articles, had fallen into general disuse. Neale restored the daily service at once. In most kindly and affectionate words, he told his little congregation that they now had the "privilege of having a priest dwelling among you, to be entrusted with the care of your souls and to minister to you the Holy Sacrament and the Word of God."<sup>33</sup> Later on in the same address, he made it clear that he was there to serve them:

"I came among you for the sake of doing as much for you in all ways as lies in my power. . . . Now that I am among you, my time is not more my own than yours."<sup>34</sup>

This address illustrates the moving spirit of this young priest who was allowing himself to be inspired by what could hardly be regarded as other than a very restricted field of service.

The energy and enthusiasm of their new warden must have been bewildering to the little circle of the aged poor at East Grinstead. With all too little craving for relief from their agreeable langor, and with a definite and easily understood disinclination to be disturbed, the pensioners must have felt no small alarm when they heard of the new warden's elaborate and far-reaching plans for their welfare. His twenty-eight years distinguished him considerably from his "spiritual children."

Yet it is clear that he intended to talk to them like a father and as the head of the house. His amazing book-learning had already made him an object of awe, and thus from the beginning he enjoyed the admiring reverence of the little company. They may justifiably have wondered what he knew of the aching loneliness of old age, with its painful isolation from the day's events and its recurring rhythm of fret and fatigue, all in the absence of those with whom most of their lives had been spent, with little but memory and recollection to brighten the day. What could he know of the problems that made up the sum total of their lives? Yet they saw his sincere efforts for their well-being; they knew only too well of his scrupulous provision for their souls; they felt his sympathy and gentle manner.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

"Their want of understanding roused his pity, their weakness appealed to his youth and strength, their poverty disarmed hard judgments."<sup>35</sup>

If they could have doubted his good will, then the last part of his first address to them dispelled those doubts,

Lastly, forasmuch as all the Feasts of the Church, whether Sundays or Saint's Days, are intended to be days of rejoicing and gladness, I shall hope to see all of you who are able to come, to dine with me in the hall on Sundays and Saint's Days at one o'clock. And thus, I trust we shall the more feel to be as we are, one family.<sup>36</sup>

Neale's first Christmas at Sackville shows how this plan was carried out and is bountiful evidence of the Catholic charity and faith that had only begun to flower. The old hall, restored to its former beauty, was hung with wide garlands of glossy evergreen and red-berried holly; a fire glowed in the newly opened hearth; the long table with the aged pensioners gathered about was a literal fulfillment of the command to call in the poor, the maimed, the halt and the blind, and at the head of the table sat the young warden, happy as ever man could be in this life. The Blessed Sacrament had been celebrated and a sermon, chiefly from the writings of St. Leo, had been delivered, so there could be no reasonable doubt concerning the reason for their joy.<sup>37</sup>

It had taken Neale and his assistant "the better part of the day" to decorate chapel and hall, but the results more than amply justified the efforts. Neale said that the only one who deserved credit was his good wife who, catching the enthusiasm of her husband, spared no trouble in making the dinner as pleasant as possible for everyone.<sup>38</sup> In his appreciation of the daily task, he said that to be occupied in a corporal act of mercy like this was better preparation for a holy day than the reading of any book that had been or ever would be written. Yes, even on Christmas, devout souls could wash pots and pans to the glory of God!

Neale always glorified responsibility in ordinary things, as if the daily task, whatever it should be, was work done along side of the great Workman. Above all other devotions, he valued simple acts of kindness to the poor or helpless, and in them he found an almost sacramental quality, as if the donor were but lending himself to God as an instrument through which He would bring a blessing.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>38</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 102.

Neale's approach to the poor was straight-forward and simple,<sup>39</sup> much as we find it in mediaeval times and contrasting sharply with our modern case-work and agency methods. As in mediaeval times, Neale thanked God for the poor, for they were God's greatest gift to the more fortunate, affording an opportunity for Christian kindness, in which kindness our love bears closest resemblance to His. The poor are God's angels, revealing the glory of love. The poor are like little "Christs," redeeming our small deeds from the fate of the inconsequential and making them holy as kindnesses done to God Himself.

This mediaeval idea of charity thoroughly permeated the priesthood of Neale, at a time when charity was becoming more and more institutionalized. The Victorian Age seemed to be one of increasingly kind impulses as societies were formed and reforms were enacted into legislation, but it was a generosity that was beginning to adapt itself to the Industrial Revolution. To the modern case-worker, Neale's idea of direct charity would appear "mediaeval" and dangerous; to Neale it appeared "mediaeval" and good.

At all events, this fervent love of the poor remained one of the deepest and most abiding of Neale's motivations. He always felt that it was the Catholic Church that had the right idea about the poor. In an early ecclesiological work, he mentions, concerning the Churches of old, "Christ's poor had more share in them than any other."<sup>40</sup> Here it was not necessary to set apart a few seats under an ostentatious legend, "free and unappropriated forever."<sup>41</sup> In describing a Christmas Eve service at Santa Luzea during his illness, he said, "I was, as I like always to be, in the midst of the poor."<sup>42</sup> On the inside of the rood-screen in the college chapel the following words were inscribed, "The poor shall eat and be satisfied."<sup>43</sup> There was a special beatitude in undeserved suffering. Misfortune was a sign of the favor of God.

Although his income consisted only of small royalties from his books, the £27 as warden, and occasional gifts from friends of the college, Neale never seemed to be concerned with pecuniary difficulties. He spent his money as freely as one in his circumstances could. In addition to having the whole college community as his guests for dinner every Sunday and high festival, he contributed generously toward the renovation of the college buildings. During his first year as warden, he gave

<sup>39</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>40</sup> J. M. Neale, *Hierologus* (London, 1843), p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 67.

<sup>43</sup> Neale, *A History of Sackville College*, p. vii.

a new well-house, an oaken belfry with three bells, and many other additions to the beauty and comfort of the pensioners.<sup>44</sup> St. Francis himself could not have been more "careless" with his money. It is said that

There were many holes in the pockets in which his money lay, and it was easily spent upon any object which appealed to his generosity—a Church, a book, a friend, a pauper. In this respect as in some others, he clung to the habits of mediaeval times and loved free charities, the uncharted doles which have long since been condemned by the Charity Organization Society. When there was room at the hall dinner table, he rejoiced to send for the poorest villagers to share the Feast-Day repast . . . and a large part of the alms dispensed in the village came from his own purse.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, indifferent to this world's goods and more than contented in the humble post to which he had been appointed, Neale found, unsought, a kind of peace known to few in his day or in any day. He lived a life of joyful abandon, almost childlike in its simplicity. But this undisturbed quiet was not long to go unchallenged. More facets in the "imitatio Christi" were yet to be revealed.

In a letter to Webb, Neale tells of a visitor to Sackville College. It was "half absurd and half vexatious" to Neale when the visitor, after seeing the chapel, asked, "Is this a Protestant or a Popish College?"<sup>46</sup> Inadvertently, Neale had left a Roman Catholic Breviary among other things on the prayer desk. As inconsequential as this seems, it was to be used against him. Besides, the visitor found "the whole look of the chapel . . . Popish." This was in September. In December, Neale was setting up the great rood in the chapel as described before.

"Just as the cross was raised for the first time, the door opened, and in walked a protestant clergyman. His disgust rendered him speechless for some time. Then he burst forth."<sup>47</sup>

The only way for us to understand the violence of disapproval surrounding the simple use of the cross in Anglican churches in the early nineteenth century is to recall that the cross was associated in England with the Roman Catholic Church exclusively. The iconoclasm of the Puritans and years of protestantizing, combined with a relative isolation from conservative but non-Roman Churches in Scandinavia and Germany, account for this peculiar association of the cross with Rome.

Today we would think of opposition to the cross as anti-Christian;

<sup>44</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>46</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 99.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

in nineteenth century England it was simply anti-Roman. The Roman Church was becoming aggressive once more, and the old fears were once more coming to the forefront. Prejudices, never dormant, were being intensified by defections to Rome of prominent men. The cross had become the symbol of that which through the centuries had threatened the political and religious independence of England. Thus the reaction of this strange visitor, while hardly excusable, was not utterly irrational, as one might be inclined to regard it when reading of it in a twentieth century environment and when viewing it from the perspective of a successful, liturgical revival.

The "Protestant clergyman" who had inquired about the denomination of the college turned out to be an evangelical priest, named Hutton. Upon hearing of the installation of the rood, he felt that his duty had become clear: "Every Protestant is bound to strive for truth," and to him this meant only one thing, that he should do everything in his power to have the rood removed.<sup>48</sup>

Sackville College was not under episcopal jurisdiction, as it was just outside the diocese of Chichester and had been founded as an independent institution from the beginning.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, waiving legal technicalities<sup>50</sup> in a matter demanding urgent attention and fraught with so much danger to roughly twenty-five souls, Hutton wrote to the Bishop of Chichester,<sup>50a</sup> who eventually visited the chapel in person. Predisposed to an unfavorable reaction and expecting the worst, the bishop found fault with practically everything Neale had done, and as a result sent him notice that he was henceforth inhibited from the exercise of any clerical function in his diocese.<sup>51</sup>

Aside from the fact that this action of the bishop had thrown a shadow of official disapproval upon the ministry of Neale, it could have little real effect upon his priestly functions, for, as he himself said, he had little occasion and less desire to minister in the diocese of Chichester.<sup>52</sup> Certainly the bishop had misjudged his man if he thought that Neale would be intimidated by this action into recanting his Catholic persuasions and destroying his crosses. As a matter of fact, everything was left as it was.

This attitude of independence to authority is cited by Roman Cath-

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>49</sup> Neale, *A History of Sackville College*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>50a</sup> Ashurst Turner GILBERT was bishop of Chichester from his consecration, Feb. 24, 1842, until his death, Feb. 21, 1870.

<sup>51</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>52</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 117.

olic historians<sup>53</sup> as evidence of the contradiction within the Catholic party in the Anglican Church, i.e., that, on the one hand, they magnify the importance of the bishop and, on the other hand, obey him only when they please. While this is an interesting observation involving episcopacy more in its legal than in its essential aspects, the fact remains that Neale was within his legal and ecclesiastical rights as a priest in the Church of England serving a chaplaincy in an independent foundation. It was not Neale but the bishop who had overstepped his jurisdiction.

Angered by Neale's refusal to change the appointments in the chapel, the bishop decided to stop him from debasing "the minds of these poor people with his spiritual haberdashery," and so, at considerable effort, he secured a ruling against Neale in the Court of Arches on November 14, 1847, which ruling remained in force until November 1863.<sup>54</sup> This decision precluded Neale from all ecclesiastical functions in the college chapel. There would be no more sermons, no morning or evening prayers, and no more celebrations of the Holy Communion. It left the college in an anomalous situation.

A warden in holy orders, eager to carry out all the privileges of the Church in its daily prayers and weekly Communions, yet unable to officiate in the college chapel; poor people who have in some degree learnt the value of those privileges, who are tottering on the verge of the grave, and are forced to content themselves with morning and evening prayers, as read to them by one of their brethren. . . .<sup>55</sup>

Neale wrote to his wife from the place of the hearing, "My dearest love . . . it is not ignominious to be wronged."<sup>56</sup> The bishop's unshakable conclusion was that the Church of England "recognizes no material helps to devotion."<sup>57</sup> Neale made several attempts to have the ruling rescinded, but each attempt was doomed to failure by the adamancy of the bishop. Greatly moved by the pathetic efforts of their warden, the pensioners wrote a letter to the bishop, describing Neale as a man "who is most kind to his people and much loved by them." "The bishop replied that they had been bewitched and that their minds had been perplexed."<sup>58</sup>

These poor, simple-minded pensioners could not enter into argu-

<sup>53</sup> Paul Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1914), Vol. II, pp. 458-465.

<sup>54</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>55</sup> John Mason Neale, *A Memoir*, edited by the Sisters of St. Margaret's (bound issues of *St. Margaret's Magazine*, 1887-1895), p. 355.

<sup>56</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

<sup>58</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

ment with the bishop, but they made a last attempt to help their priest by writing to Lord De La Warr, the patron. In their letter, they said that Neale had not confounded them with "new shows," and that it was a good day that brought him to the college: "he should have the care of our souls which he is so fit and so willing to have and which nobody else has."<sup>59</sup> Lord De La Warr was keenly interested and unfailingly loyal to his appointee, but he could do nothing at that time.<sup>60</sup>

The pensioners felt a natural disappointment and bitterness at their inability to rescind the action against Neale.<sup>61</sup> Their chief comfort was the encouragement of Neale himself, who gathered his little company together in the hall on Whitsunday and tried to explain the situation:

Whenever any misfortune happens to us . . . we may be sure that God has some lesson to teach by it. . . . God sees that by missing . . . (our privileges) for a time we may value them more. . . . And this we must remember—that though he has taken away much from us, He has still left us much. . . . God, the Holy Ghost, to Whom we keep this day holy, is not tied to time or place or circumstances. . . . He generally works by means. But, blessed be His Holy Name, He can work without them also.<sup>62</sup>

Neale added that, since this deprivation was undeserved, God would restore what He took away if they would call upon Him in prayer. This attempt to justify the ways of God to men was wrought out of anguish and was no easy repetition of pious platitudes. As Neale's Catholic faith taught him, the "Imitatio Christi" centered in suffering and a cross. His calmness at this time was stirring, and his manly resignation was such as to win the admiration of all. His aged followers began to discern a knowledge that did not come from study, a character that was more than the product of discipline, a soul that was more mature than the "temple" which it inhabited. In short, here they saw a man with a talent for living the Christian life, not earned, not acquired, infinitely human, and yet witnessing to the divine creation. As a fine, tall tree looks ever so strong and majestic, the fiercer the storm, so in adversity the character of Neale looks ever so courageous and charismatic.

Perhaps one reason that Neale handled himself so well in adversity was the fact that he had so much opportunity to practice his virtues and exercise his patience. A little cross brought him a great deal of trouble again in 1851.

<sup>59</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> John Mason Neale, *A Memoir*, p. 351.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360f.

<sup>62</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 164.



The Ecclesiological Society had for some time been in the forefront in funeral reform, and Neale, as might be expected, was in the forefront of the Ecclesiological Society in this respect. By the very nature of things, funerals were likely to be frequent at Sackville College. Thus Neale's theories concerning proper Christian burial were at once translated into practice. This reform resulted in a disturbance of considerable gravity. The events which followed are important, because they set off a chain-reaction of difficulties that made Neale notorious throughout England, creating the atmosphere of tension, anxiety and persecution, which was to be the environment of his whole priesthood. In the end, when the smoke and fury had all cleared away, the least affected seemed to be Neale himself; and when people finally began to see that he had been right all along, their approbation was accepted gracefully but with no more gravity than had their previous disapproval. But this is how it all happened.

Believing that poor people should not be compelled by vulgar, popular opinion to spend their scanty means on the cheap and ostentatious paraphernalia of nineteenth century funerals, Neale provided a bier and a pall for use at the college. The pall was edged in fringe and had a small, embroidered cross in the center. Small as it was, this cross attracted considerable attention. It happened that one of the pensioners had earnestly entreated that these accessories be used at her funeral, much to the disgust of her relatives who at once began a storm of protest that would not readily be allayed. It was of course known everywhere that the warden was in trouble with his superiors and that he had been brought before the Court of Arches. Was he not a Romanist in disguise? This feeling of violent hostility reached its climax at the funeral when a drunk and riotous mob surrounded the college, lighting bonfires in dangerous proximity to the buildings, breaking windows, cursing, swearing and making threats. The macabre affair ended when the mob seized the coffin and carried it to the village inn, where they opened it to make sure that the crafty priest had not really taken the body away before hand.<sup>63</sup> Apparently some of the pensioners had either joined in or had otherwise abetted the action of the mob, and this hurt Neale more than anything else that had occurred. All the while these gangsters were milling about his house, Neale's children were ill, and he reported that their condition was aggravated by the smoke that filled the rooms.

The fact that even the pensioners were becoming involved in such unsympathetic action against their warden shows that the riots at this

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 196.

funeral were all a part of a deliberate attempt to poison their minds against him. All kinds of reports were circulated in order to create an unfavorable impression, and a series of examinations and investigations was launched into the most minute details of daily life at the college.<sup>64</sup> If a pensioner could be induced to utter a complaint against Neale, his discontent was lauded highly and given much attention in the local press.

Neale knew that he had to attempt to control the situation. In an open letter to the rioters, he wrote,

"You hear much of popish bigotry, intolerance, oppression and persecution. Did not the riot of last Tuesday week prove that these things can be practised by some who are loudest in exclaiming against them?"<sup>65</sup>

He warned that their gangster tactics would do no good except to "confirm the sufferers in that for which they suffer." In a conciliatory tone he wrote, "and now, in conclusion, it is my hearty wish that what is past may be past."

It is clear that Neale did not intend to be intimidated by the mob. He would not yield to their pressure, but he was desirous of peace and would on that account consider their indiscretions past. It is interesting to read Neale's correspondence during this period.<sup>66</sup> There is practically no complaining and certainly no note of despondency. Even in his most intimate correspondence, it is clear that he really wants to forget it. Obvious also is the fact that he considered himself in a morally impregnable position. That seemed to matter more than anything else.

One more instance of serious difficulty stirred up about this time is well described by Neale and makes exciting reading in any age:

The disturbances last night reached a climax. There were two incendiary fires the night before. Last night we had an attempt to set the college on fire in three different places; and a man knocked me down in the kitchen and yet escaped, though we had fire watchers at the time. Anonymous letters are the order of the day. . . . This is all a part of the same attempt to force us out; but they will have mistaken their man. . . . "This I know, that they shall murder me ere make me tread the way that is not my way for an inch."<sup>67</sup>

Neale complained that these long watches interfered with his literary work. "Sitting up to four agrees not with writing. I can do only a trifle or so in the day."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>66</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, pp. 99, 115-118, 244-246.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

From all of this, it can be seen that in spite of the quaint old-world character of Sackville College, with its ancient ivy-covered walls dominating the village on the edge of Ashdown Forest, life there for Neale was no quiet retreat from the world and its cares. A less courageous spirit would have been overwhelmed, but he kept right on with his work.

Sometimes, in counselling the sick, he would ask them to say after him the concluding words of the *Te Deum*, "O Lord in Thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded."<sup>69</sup> He must have found this helpful himself, for in spite of the chaos which surrounded him in this long and unjust controversy, he kept up a stream of literary composition that would have been an impressive accomplishment for one who had labored in uninterrupted serenity. In 1851, alone, he worked on five books including his work on the Eastern Church. He also turned out many small articles.<sup>70</sup> In addition to this, he began writing for the *Morning Chronicle* and won the Seatonian Prize, a Cambridge poetry award, for the tenth time.<sup>71</sup>

Nothing reveals his inner spirit more tellingly, however, than the fact that when he was on his way to a trial occasioned by the Lewes Riot, to be described subsequently, he stopped long enough to "take" two churches that he had never had occasion to visit. Neale always felt that God could use all sorts of evil circumstances to bring about some little good. Writing a long time later about these years, Neale's daughter testifies that as children in the household they were scarcely even aware of any difficulty, except for the loudest abuse uttered by fanatics in the rabble on the night of the riots. She said that through all of it her parents were cheerful and seemed happy.<sup>72</sup> Mrs. Neale must have been a remarkable person, too!

Neale had a profound conviction that true Christians should suffer for their faith. He could not think of the life of the Christian apart from the cross. He had absorbed so much of the spirit of the early Church that he seemed to take persecution as a natural consequence of faith. It is obvious that he did not believe that having a state church automatically made a nation Christian. Neale thought that it had. Every age demands its witnesses. There is a glory to suffering for God in the nineteenth century as there was in the first. Time does not change that sacrifice which is always demanded and which is eternally acceptable to

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>70</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>72</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, pp. 111f.

God. Neale develops his conception of the necessity as well as the joy in suffering especially in his novels. Discipleship demands suffering. It is the badge of the "imitatio Christi." In all of this writing about suffering, it is the note of Christian joy that emerges time and again. It is the *leit motiv* even in the most unexpected situations. Neale's novels, hymns, in fact, everything he wrote, abound in the Early Christian philosophy of the glory of tribulation. Thus it was that Neale could accept willingly, even joyfully, these fantastically unjust actions against him.

### Founder of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret

Instead of becoming embittered or discouraged by the harsh treatment he was accorded by the mobs, Neale looked upon their degradation with a great deal of pity. He took their action as evidence of a tragic spiritual emptiness which needed ministry. The parishes surrounding the college—East Grinstead, Hartfield, Withyham, Rotherfield, Buxted, Ardingly, and West Hoathly—included hundreds of isolated farms and scattered cottages, sometimes miles from any church. These parishes were so large that it was scarcely possible to give true care even to the souls of those in proximity to the parish churches.<sup>73</sup>

Neale could see more than degradation in the faces of those who came with cursing and firebrands to attack him and to storm the college. Here were neglected, poverty-ridden men, so full of bitterness and smoldering resentment that they would seize any possible opportunity for violent demonstration of their anger with life as they saw it. Even in the midst of rioting and incendiarism, most of it directed against him, Neale remained sufficiently detached to realize that these men had been reached by the appeal to hatred, because they had never seen enough of love; that they were fighting their way unwittingly through a dark, cruel world, because they had not been reached by the light of the gospel.

He knew also that if their spiritual needs were neglected, their bodily needs, likewise, probably went unsupplied. He knew that in times of sickness doctors, nurses, and medicine were hardly to be obtained. It was this spiritual and physical destitution that Neale saw in the faces of the rioters. Strange as it may seem, he was more inspired than repelled at the sight. He knew of St. Francis de Sales and of his Order of the Visitation. And then there was St. Vincent de Paul. Was this not the very situation in which they worked?<sup>74</sup>

Following some of the ideas of St. Vincent de Paul, Neale began

<sup>73</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

to think in terms of an order of Sisters of Mercy. St. Vincent's order was founded primarily for prayer. Neale's order, as he envisioned it, would devote its time to the care of the sick and needy as well as to the work of prayer and meditation. He confides,

"it was a favorite speculation of mine how it would be possible ever to get at the scattered collection of houses in our great Sussex parishes so as positively to evangelize them as you might do a heathen country, for they are heathen to all intents and purposes."<sup>75</sup>

It had already been proposed at the local deanery that nurses trained academically and religiously might do the work, but, characteristically, that is as far as it went and nothing was done about it.<sup>76</sup>

Events of the time had aroused Neale. He wrote to the Rev. T. T. Carter of Clewer, W. Butler of Wantage, and Harriet Monsell, mother superior of the Clewer Sisterhood.<sup>77</sup> This was the beginning. More positive action came when Neale had occasion to meet three women who were eager to join a sisterhood. Here was all that was needed. "I saw the nucleus of what I wanted to do. . . . I first wrote to or saw our most prominent friends . . . then I went to Clewer twice and learnt all that I could there."<sup>78</sup> He then made the selection of a mother superior, "the very exact person of all others that I could have chosen." This ideal person was Miss Gream, the daughter of the rector of Rotherfield, and obviously a very gifted woman.<sup>79</sup>

With the help of friends, he drew up rules based on those of Clewer and those of St. Francis de Sales.<sup>80</sup> The next problem was financial, and it was readily solved: "Then I began to beg, and certainly succeeded there quite beyond my hopes."<sup>81</sup> With unbounded enthusiasm, Neale located a hospital in which to train the first recruits. Westminster Hospital offered them tuition, and St. John's House offered lodging.<sup>82</sup>

The idea of such a sisterhood was immediately welcomed, and received almost universal approval. Neale described the idea as the greatest "hit" he had seen "since the first start of the Cambridge Camden Society." Even the bishop of Chichester considered the sisterhood a good idea. Such sympathy from so many different quarters was encouraging to Neale.<sup>83</sup> There was a period of experimentation in which the

<sup>75</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 233.

<sup>76</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>77</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, pp. 235f.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>79</sup> *John Mason Neale, A Memoir*, p. 230.

<sup>80</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>81</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

candidates for the sisterhood tried to formulate principles upon which to work.

One of the first requests for the services of a sister came from a poor woman slowly dying of consumption. She had a large family which the sister attended as lovingly as she attended the patient. Here is her description of the house:

"Lonely and cold; wind howling under the eaves, moon and stars shining through holes in the roof, snow drifting in on winter nights, mice holding high games at unseasonable hours, spiders and such other small creatures abundant."

Of this house, Neale himself said, "Such extremity of wretchedness, I never saw but in Portugal." Yet it was in this hovel that "the problem whether Sisters could live with the poor as poor" was solved. Incidentally, the sister serving this family could not even be accommodated in the house, but slept in the barn, with a sheet pulled across the beams to form her bedroom. From that time on, nevertheless, it was decided that the sisters could live right with the people to whom they ministered.<sup>84</sup> Neale specified that this was to be the case whether they were "ladies or in lower rank."<sup>85</sup>

At first the sisters resided at Rotherfield where the mother superior was caring for her aged father, and Neale would sometimes walk fourteen miles and back, just to give them the benefit of his counsel concerning the operation of the sisterhood. Upon the death of the superior's father, however, the sisters moved to East Grinstead, where, close to their founder, they occupied a house in June, 1856. It was here in a bare, red-brick structure with a devoted group of nine zealous women that the real beginnings of the sisterhood were made. Neale ministered daily in their own little oratory, as the small group was molded into a fellowship through common prayer and the sacraments. The larger rooms were divided into small cubicles, and the refectory was made out of an underground shed.<sup>86</sup> These arrangements sound unsatisfactory, to say the least, but the sisters were happy, and morale could not have been higher had they lived in a palace. As a matter of fact, some of them had left fine homes for this, and they were glad they had.

It was from this dwelling that the sisters were prepared to go out to those in need at a moment's notice. Here they were to learn more and more about the utterly dedicated life in an atmosphere of quiet devotion.

<sup>84</sup> John Mason Neale, *A Memoir*, p. 318.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>86</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

The founding of this sisterhood was the greatest practical work of Neale's life. It was from its inception a principle part of his priesthood at East Grinstead. Sympathy with poor and helpless old people had brought him to Sackville College, and it was the same sympathy which was to develop within his rich ministry into a social movement of far-reaching significance. The use of women in nursing and social work in areas of great need was in its beginnings. Neale was one of the first representatives of the Catholic revival to develop this tendency along religious and historic lines. He thought of the masses as having a special claim upon the love and sympathy of the Church of England, and he sought to awaken in the Church a sense of responsibility toward her more unfortunate children. Was not the Church their Holy Mother? And how does a mother care for her children?

Traveling in Northern France and in Belgium, Neale had seen the love of the masses for the Church.<sup>87</sup> It was the natural response of the love of the Church for them. He did not realize it, but a change was beginning to come about in France in this respect. Yet Neale's main contention was sound, and the cold and unsympathetic attitude of the Church of England toward the poor was still in sharp contrast to that of the Churches of France and Spain.

Catching the spirit of Neale's Catholic love of the poor, social and economic conditions and their improvement became one of the major interests of the Catholic Revival. Reaching the down-trodden as a Church with the Gospel and the sacraments became a major interest. Scores of young priests, caught up in the spirit of the Catholic Revival, rejected opportunities to minister in fashionable parishes, preferring the districts of East and Central London, the condition of which was lower morally and materially than anything known today. These areas were outside the pale of positive Christian influence as long as Anglican ministers of the old type continued to spend the bulk of their time looking after the wealthier and, presumably, the more respectable members of their flocks. The priests of Catholic persuasion became the Apostles to the masses.<sup>88</sup> They established themselves among the poorest of the poor, and were "mortified among the suffering, allowing themselves to be neither repelled by violence and loathsomeness, nor rebuffed by disappointment, unwearied in charity and devotion."<sup>89</sup>

Neale's sisterhood was one of the earliest expressions of the social outreach of the Anglican Revival. It should be stated, of course, that

<sup>87</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale*, pp. 250-254.

<sup>88</sup> Paul Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

<sup>89</sup> *Loc. cit.*



it was the Tractarians who gave the first impetus to a revival of the religious life. Yet the fact remains that all of the sisterhoods founded prior to St. Margaret had limited their work largely to the penitentiaries and prisons. The out-reach of the Sisters of St. Margaret, with their program of active missionary and nursing work in large and rugged rural parishes, was unique in that this type of work had not been attempted hitherto, nor had it been considered practical. Neale's "sisters" were to be the first in a rich and many-sided revival of true "Sisters of Charity," the Church's most convincing witnesses of her ardent concern for the unfortunate.

With very limited knowledge of what the religious life involved and with but brief training, these nine, determined women and their founder began what was to become an exemplification of the Catholic Revival on its practical and evangelical side. At any hour of the day or night, they might be summoned to a disease-ridden hovel to minister to a family from whom everyone had fled in hysteria out of sheer dread of infection. The whole work of the house would devolve upon the sisters, the washing, cooking and the cleaning, as well as the care of the sick. Neale furnishes his own illustration of this point. "Application was made for a Sister in a case of diphtheria. She went instantly. It was of a most malignant kind—spread throughout the household, and in five days she had . . . attended four death beds."<sup>90</sup>

Another call came for a sister at Ashurst Wood.

"We agree that Sister K. should go. The mother, a widow out of her senses (with anxiety, not disease) a boy and two girls wildly delirious. . . . The woman in one of her lucid intervals said, 'I will not have any ladies that worship images in my house.'<sup>91</sup>

When Sister K. left, the woman was over her anxiety as well as her prejudice against "Sisters," and two of her children had been saved from the epidemic. Even the small cross, which the sister wore, seemed less distasteful than before.

The vicar of Guckfield wrote,

I was called to a sad case of scarlet fever in my parish. On visiting the house, I found six children suffering under the most malignant form of that disease with no mother to take care of them, she being in a lunatic asylum. . . . The poor father sat in one corner of the room with a child four years old in his lap in the last stage of disease, the picture of helplessness . . . no one in the parish could be got to help them, so I sent for one of the Sisters. They received

<sup>90</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239f.



my note at nine on Saturday evening and at nine Sunday morning one of the most efficient nurses I ever met was at the vicarage who went immediately to the house where the state of things may be imagined . . . with six children nothing had been washed in a fortnight! The man was a Baptist of a most peculiar type: but everything in the house, the man included, became different a few hours after the Sister made her appearance, and, from that time to this, she never left the house, working incessantly by day and by night with the most entire cheerfulness and kindness in a place where there is scarcely room to lie down.<sup>92</sup>

The vicar was surprised when the man allowed the little child to be baptized. Such was the influence of these Sisters of Mercy. Testimonies of unwearied charity and skill came in from many quarters and won much sympathetic support for the Catholic Revival.

It is not at all surprising that these grey-clad sisters soon came to be looked upon as angels of the countryside.<sup>93</sup> The suspicion with which they were first regarded soon gave way to devoted reverence, as they were seen making their way from one place of service to the next. They attempted as much as possible, however, to go about their work in simplicity and modesty without the appearance of unusual or heroic effort. Their only aim was to relieve at once both spiritual and physical destitution. Pusey liked to regard them as "pioneers of the priests," for they entered homes where, but for their loving service, no priest would have been invited. Certainly the people about East Grinstead were witnessing the practice of an Apostolic ideal higher than they had seen before, and however strange the doctrine behind it might seem to them, they could not withhold from such zeal their profound respect and grateful esteem.<sup>94</sup>

As might be expected in the initial growth of the sisterhood, it consumed a large amount of Neale's time and energy. Vocations had to be tested, a rule had to be developed, and the deep, spiritual bonds binding together those in the spiritual life had to be formed. To an interested inquirer, Neale wrote, "You can hardly understand yet what is the closeness of the tie that binds those who are fighting this hard battle in common. . . . I trust you may soon learn of it."<sup>95</sup>

To aid the sisters when on duty away from the religious observance of the house, Neale wrote devotions for every hour of the day and night, including *A Horology of the Passion*, *The Hours of Our Lord's Passion*, and a book of meditations entitled, *The Virgin's Lamp*. He felt

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>93</sup> Paul Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 452.

<sup>95</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

that these sisters who would share as far as was humanly possible the sorrows, pains and poverty of those to whom they ministered, multiplied over and over again as they went from place to place, would need the strongest possible spiritual sustenance. Thus he provided every opportunity of worship for them while they were at the convent as well as while they were away. He always emphasized the fact that where ever they were, prayers were being offered on their behalf, and the Blessed Sacrament was being celebrated with them in mind.

The Sisters of St. Margaret constituted what is technically called a "mixed" order, that is, they were more active than a strictly enclosed order, and, at the same time, they were more contemplative than a purely active one. Interestingly enough, St. Francis de Sales' "Order of the Visitation" became more and more contemplative as time went on, finally becoming entirely enclosed. It would seem that Neale's personality, however much he valued the contemplative, would have consciously prevented any such development in his sisterhood. With him, faith and action were two dynamic forces that could not be separated. As he insisted on the centrality of worship in any order, because that logically was the source from which the power for good would come, so he endlessly sought new tasks and ever wider fields of service in which this power for good could be channeled and employed. Work and prayer were for Neale but two phases of the one life in Christ. The "imitatio Christi" would be neither one nor the other, but both in concert. Thus the idea of the mixed order, while certainly not original with Neale, perfectly expressed his conception of the life in God as one of utter sacrifice of soul and body in His service. Work was mixed with prayer, and both were offered up to God.

In the first year of the sisterhood's existence, scarlet fever broke out in the convent, and the members of the small and struggling order, from the mother superior on down, barely escaped with their lives. They took it well, however, and Neale could write of them later, "They were all as I could have wished."<sup>96</sup>

### St. Katherine's Orphanage

A new and unexpected claim upon the time and affections of Neale and his order came when his sister sent nine orphan girls to East Grinstead to become the charges of the sisterhood. His sister had been caring for them, but suddenly embarked upon a new kind of service, and thus a new orphanage was founded.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243f.

Upon the arrival of the children, Neale took a small house, put two sisters in charge, and named the establishment, "St. Katherine's." On certain days, Neale celebrated the Holy Communion there, and on Sundays he catechized the children and told them breath-taking stories of Christian heroism. When teachers were absent, Neale taught geography and arithmetic with considerable zest and imagination. Both orphanage and sisterhood grew so rapidly that both had to be moved to larger quarters in 1858.<sup>98</sup>

It was perfectly amazing to all those about him how Neale could throw such energy and care into every new undertaking. On bright half-holidays, he would take the whole orphanage in addition to his own five children on a hike into the woods or to see some quaint, old church in a remote village. All along the way, he would tell stories of the saints and anecdotes of his many travels. The children readily found the way to his heart and he to theirs. There was a simplicity in this great man that approached the simplicity of childhood. In addition to his knowledge of twenty-two languages, he knew the language of children and could readily share their interests and match their enthusiasm with his.

It always pleased Neale when some child would haply wander into his study. How they could admire the bindings on his ancient books! They were impressed with all of the clutter and knew that their priest must be a very busy man. Such ordered confusion was not easy to achieve. The children were, likewise, charmed by the icons enriching the dark walls. These were a gift from the Patriarch of Moscow and the Monastery of St. Sergious, and were among Neale's most treasured possessions.<sup>99</sup> Generally speaking, both the visitors and the visited had such a love of the marvelous that they could lead one another into strange regions of imagination.

Neale, himself, had been raised in a stern, gloomy, Calvinistic home, and he well remembered the melancholy that had been so painfully engraved upon his young mind. The beauty and kindness of the Catholic faith had only gradually emancipated him from morbid recollection of the spiritual misery of his childhood.<sup>100</sup> For this reason, he was all the more determined that the children under his care would never suffer under such doubt and uncertainty as to the nature of God and the welfare of their souls. He would surround them with the sacred emblems which bespeak the love of God in concrete form. They would have every aid to devotion and would learn the use of all the means of grace provided by

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

a benevolent God and entrusted to a Church that loves us as a mother, and guides every step of our "journey" upon earth. Neale's children would never have occasion to forget that with God there is love and forgiveness, and that He sends His holy angels to guard and keep them from harm and danger. In short, a warm Catholic faith was to be the basis of their whole attitude and outlook.

Strangely enough, Neale often made the impression of great reserve and even of abruptness in his dealings with adults, while, at the same time, children were almost automatically attracted to him.<sup>101</sup> As he walked through the streets of the village, there were always several boys running along beside him, some little one holding on to the tassels on his cassock, another clutching on to his hand. Once when he visited another orphanage, the officials were concerned with his lack of conversation and thought that somehow he had been displeased, until, finally giving up the attempt to draw him out, they left him to himself. Still concerned and more than a little puzzled, they sought him out a little while later, and found him surrounded by a pressing cluster of children, writing verses and reciting them at their loud and ardent request "to show them how they (verses) were made."<sup>102</sup>

One of the most important parts of Neale's ministry at the orphanage was the catechization of the young, and in this he had few equals. He took considerable care in his preparation, and brought to every subject the same wealth of sources and depth of understanding so prominent in his more scholarly writings. His method was simple: he was willing to take as much time as seemed necessary to drive home the important truths and essential facts. But facts did not necessarily have to be taught exclusively in the schoolroom. Valuable tenets of the faith could be absorbed, as children read for pleasure. Thus Neale combined the systematic and academic inculcation of instruction with a lighter and more enjoyable indoctrination through novels or historical fiction.

In his novels for children, as in his catechization, Neale once more demonstrates his understanding of the child's mind. Consistent with the character of Neale, all of his novels for children were written with a clearly defined purpose, that is, they were such tales as a chaplain might relate to his children in order to impart information or illustrate a point. He usually chose to write about times when religion deeply concerned the destinies of men. His novels thus emphasize creed rather than character, and sometimes tend to give the impression of unreality.

<sup>101</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, pp. 297f.

<sup>102</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

At his best, however, Neale is exciting as a writer and marvelous as a storyteller. *The Triumphs of the Cross*, *Shepperton Manor*, *Stories of the Crusades*, *Stories from Heathen Mythology*, *Poynings*, and *Duchénier*, all followed one another in quick succession, with a vividness of setting and action that must have made him the wonder of his little orphan charges.<sup>103</sup> In all of this, he shows a zealous devotion to the children under his care, as well as a sense of responsibility toward the "Children of the Church" at large. At church, worshiping in the company of their friends, or reading alone in their rooms, he wanted them to have the best.

Even while the management of the college, convent and orphanage demanded much of his time and energy, Neale still seemed to find time to continue some of his much loved scholarly work. In addition to his novels for children, he worked continually on his *Commentary on the Psalms*, which was growing speedily under the impetus of the devotional life at St. Margaret's. His essays from the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1862, alone, filled a volume under the title of *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*, one of the most careful and scholarly of Neale's works. The two volumes, *Greek Liturgies of Sts. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil*, and the English translation of *Greek Liturgies*, appeared in 1859, as also did the *Rhythm of St. Bernard*, *Children's Sermons*, and *Voices from the East*.<sup>104</sup>

### The Riot at Lewes

Although there were periods of relative quiet, the troubles at the college never really ceased. Just when Neale might have begun to think that the devil was at last asleep, new difficulties broke out afresh both at the college and at the convent. In 1856, a Mr. Rogers, the assistant warden, turned against Neale unaccountably, and proceeding on the charge that Neale had taken over for his own use more rooms than he had a right to, had the doors to the rooms broken open and some of the furnishings smashed and destroyed. The local papers, not really over the old bitterness, published furious attacks both on Neale and his family.<sup>105</sup>

This was all preparatory for the real storm which broke loose in November, 1857. The occasion was the death of a sister. The father of this dying girl had been summoned, but arrived too late to see her alive. Prior to her death, she had written a will leaving her property to her brother, her sisters, and to the sisterhood. At first, her father was cooperative and seemed to favor the arrangements made, but, suddenly, he be-

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

came so hostile toward those in whose care she had died that all sorts of wild reports began to be circulated, the least innocuous of which was that the young sister had died of neglect. The townsfolw were aroused, especially the rougher element.

The climax of hatred and ill-will came on the night of the funeral, as a great mob followed the mourners into the church yard at Lewes. Encouraged more by the vindictiveness than by the grief of the father and almost hidden in the descending shadows of night-fall, the fierce mob rushed upon the little band of sisters in a sudden stampede. Neale was knocked down in a vain attempt to protect the sisters from being borne along the streets in infamy, insult and profanity accompanying the whole. Finally, the police restored order, so that the sisters could return by train to East Grinstead. To add fuel to the flames, the father of the deceased sister published scandalous accounts, asserting that his daughter had been entrapped into the sisterhood, placed in the way of infection, and induced to make a will favorable to the community.<sup>106</sup>

This eerie incident was discussed all over England, and once more made Neale and East Grinstead a storm center. After the kindness with which the new sisterhood had been greeted, this violent outburst of contempt came as a chilly wind, indeed. It is hard to love the hateful and unlovely. Many thought that this would be a death-blow to the young order.

The bishop of Chichester who, though consistently hostile to Neale whom he still had proscribed in his diocese, had shown friendliness toward the sisterhood, immediately withdrew as visitor without even in vestigating the situation, still preferring to take the word of the most degenerate rabble rather than the testimony of Neale himself. The bishop's action without a hearing once more created the impression that Neale was completely to blame. Many friends of the sisterhood fell away, and subscriptions declined.

Yet, many influential men rallied to the support of Neale in the face of such tyrannical injustice.<sup>107</sup> Impartial judges, well aware of the savagery of Neale's unreconcilable enemies, roused public sympathy on his behalf and on behalf of the sisterhood. At least, when the storm subsided, Neale, the college and the sisterhood were still there, doing the work of mercy, sometimes ministering to those who had been most outspoken and those whom the darkness at Lewes had in undeserved charity kept anonymous. Macabre as this incident was, and perhaps in Victorian England

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>107</sup> *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, p. 299.

because it was so, the attention of all of England was focused on the sisterhood and its work. Evil had over-stepped itself and had brought on its own defeat. The result of the publicity given the sisters was largely favorable. At all events, the tide soon changed again in favor of the sisterhood, and all things worked together to make it stronger than ever.

### Final Vindication

From 1859 to 1866, the sisterhood increased and prospered, more than exceeding the most optimistic hopes of the founder. Neale's expectations had been great, but the fulfillment was even more wonderful. His joyous enthusiasm was evident when in 1858 he first began to perceive the gathering strength of the movement. He wrote,

"Our members at St. Margaret's have so increased that at Michaelmas we enter upon five houses."<sup>108</sup>

Even so, the demands for service increased out of proportion to the capabilities of the sisters. In 1858, the Rev. J. C. Chambers, vicar of St. Mary's Crown Street, Soho, requested two sisters for his parish. This was the beginning of St. Savior's Priory and its little band of sisters working day and night to lighten ignorance and poverty in one of London's most desolate districts.<sup>109</sup> In October, 1862, the sisters were requested to found a House of Refuge in Ash. The following year, Neale laid the foundations of an independent daughter sisterhood at Aberdeen. A "Middle School" had been added to the growing orphanage at East Grinstead, and a night school for sailors with "time on their hands" was organized.<sup>110</sup>

Neale continued to promote the sisterhood with such tireless devotion, that in August, 1864, he was able to write,

"You know that we have bought the ground for our new house. . . . The view to the north is very lovely. . . . The field is ten acres. . . . We have also bought a quarry about three hundred yards off, so that we shall have no expense in cartage."<sup>111</sup>

The foundation stone of the building now known as St. Margaret's Convent was laid on the feast of St. Margaret, July 20, 1865. It was a very happy day for Neale. While nine years before, even in the presence of death, it had been impossible to protect the sisters from an attack by a brutal rabble, on this occasion the townspeople united in a request that a procession of clergy and sisters should pass through the streets of the

<sup>108</sup> Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.



town, crosses and all. By the grace of God, many who could have been counted among the mob nine years before were now among the devout who thronged the site of the convent.<sup>112</sup>

The bishop of Chichester, the same one who had inhibited Neale twenty years before, and who for all of these years had steadfastly refused to reconsider the justice of the decision, had finally removed the restriction against Neale, and Neale in sincere gratitude for this belated kindness, dedicated his collection of Seatonian Poems to him.<sup>113</sup> Thus the bells of the parish church, where for twenty years Neale had been refused the privilege of celebrating or preaching, rang out joyously.

The *Guardian* of that day observed that this occasion was a striking indication of a change in the popular attitude toward the "religious life" in England.<sup>114</sup> It was, at the same time, a vindication of the life and work of John Mason Neale at East Grinstead. For years, as warden of Sackville College, he had been the victim, not only of ecclesiastical censure, but also of all sorts of personal abuse and insidious slander. Then, as the founder of a sisterhood and chaplain of St. Katherine's Orphanage, he had become the object of a bitter popular outcry, condemned without a hearing or defense, abused unmercifully by the sensational press, even treated with physical violence. This hostility had not merely spent itself and died out; it had been disarmed by a great and indomitable Christian spirit, one who had himself heard the revilings of the mob in his bitter anguish and yet reviled not in return. The prayer of St. Francis, "Where there is discord, let me sow peace," had been literally answered in Neale's priesthood.

Twenty short years before, young and full of generous enthusiasm, he had come without misgivings to the remote and decaying halls of the college. In this unpromising soil, the source of so much discord and contention, full of tares and hopelessly trampled down, he planted the good seed of the Catholic faith, and, after years of inhumanly strenuous and unremitting labor, God had given the increase, and it had sprung into flower. The Church had not known where to employ him, but God had a plan. Neale did not find the Catholic faith in East Grinstead; he came to plant it there.

John Mason Neale died, worn out with his labors, on August 6, 1866, at Sackville College, East Grinstead, aged forty-eight years. What God had wrought in and through this one man, during a priesthood of only twenty-four years!

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.



# American Papers in Lambeth Palace Library

By the Librarian of Lambeth\*



AMONG the records of the Bishopric of London, recently transferred to Lambeth Palace Library on permanent deposit, are over forty cardboard boxes of papers relating to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in the American Colonies principally in the eighteenth century, when he was nominally the diocesan head of the Episcopal churches in America. They are a very valuable source of information on many aspects of American history before the Revolution, and have not hitherto been easily accessible to scholars,<sup>1</sup> and have never been systematically studied.

Their importance may be gauged by a brief account of the main types of documents to be found. There are between two thousand and three thousand letters, written almost entirely by clergy in America to the bishop on such topics as the religious state of the local population, the territorial expansion of the colonies, and contact with dissenters and Indians. These and numerous petitions contain a rich abundance of biographical information. In addition, there are papers relating to the proceedings of local assemblies, to legal actions, the colleges, and a wide range of miscellaneous subjects. There are also several boxes of letters of orders and of the bonds given to missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (commonly called "The S.P.G.") before going to the colonies.

In 1908, while the papers were still at Fulham Palace, they were noted at some length by Andrews and Davenport, but since that date many new documents have come to light, and, although roughly sorted according to the colonies to which they relate, they have remained without foliation, arrangement by chronology, order of writers, or any other apparent system. In their present state, therefore, they present a very difficult problem for the scholar anxious to make a precise reference,

\* The Librarian of Lambeth is Geoffrey Bill.

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., claims to have transcripts, photostats, or photofilms of all S.P.G. documents, Lambeth Palace MSS, and Fulham Palace MSS, bearing on the American Colonies, in its possession; but this editor is quite certain that it does not have everything in those categories, because he supplied the Library of Congress with some letters of the Rev. Abraham Beach to the S.P.G. which it did not have.

and much time is consumed in locating individual documents. They are, in addition, liable to misplacement after use, and, with the passage of time, to loss and damage. Microfilming papers in this condition intensifies the difficulties of reference and makes the projection of specific documents on a screen a long and tedious process.

In the normal course of events, it would be a long time before this unsatisfactory state of affairs could be remedied. In the last decade, a very large quantity of archives has been placed in this library, and the Church Commissioners, who finance the library, have already spent very large sums on its rehabilitation after the destruction sustained during World War II and on the care and preservation of the contents, including a new catalogue of the printed books, and they are continuing to support it in a very liberal manner. Nevertheless, owing to the sheer quantity of the material, it must be *many years* before the American papers can receive the attention they require, and even then it is difficult to say in what detail it will be possible to describe the collection, and what resources will be available for its physical conservation.

It is very desirable, therefore, to take them out of their proper sequence, and, in view of their importance for American history, and of the renewed interest in them which is likely to follow the new edition of Andrews and Davenport shortly to be published, to make them fully and conveniently available to scholars without delay. The most effective measure of achieving this end is, I am convinced, by enlisting the sympathy of American historians and endeavouring through them to raise sufficient funds for the sorting, cataloguing, repair and binding of the papers. The production of a printed catalogue is a work which may well tempt some young American scholar, and it would without question be an important contribution to Anglo-American studies in a neglected field. The whole project could probably be completed in a year or eighteen months, and would probably cost between two and three thousand pounds, i.e., \$6,000.00 to \$9,000.00.

### The Arrangement, Cataloguing, and Repair of American Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library

**I**N view of the importance and scope of the Fulham Palace Papers concerned with the American Colonies, now in the Lambeth Palace Library, their present condition places very considerable difficulties in the way of the scholar anxious to use them. These difficulties may be briefly summarized as follows:

I.

(1) There is no description of the contents of the papers beyond that given by Andrews and Davenport in 1908. It is no reflection on a great pioneer work to say that the descriptions there given are far from complete, and that many new documents have been found since it was published. In addition, the book is now out of print and only available in large libraries, and although a new survey of American materials in this country will shortly be published, it is not intended to reprint the account of these papers in Andrews and Davenport.

(2) Documents referred to by Andrews and Davenport can be located only with difficulty and with considerable expenditure of time. This is inevitable when it is remembered that there are several thousand loose documents unnumbered and without a permanent or systematic arrangement.

(3) Microfilms of documents in this condition are extremely difficult to use for the reasons given in (2), which on a film are aggravated.

(4) In their present condition, it is impossible to give precise, scholarly references to individual documents. This is a serious consideration for the scholar.

(5) The papers are liable to physical damage in their present state. Although the majority are in reasonably good condition at the moment, there is a considerable amount of wear and tear, particularly at the edges which, if not checked, will eventually become a serious factor.

II.

In order to make the papers fully and properly available for American historians, it is necessary to remedy these defects, and this may be done in the following manner:

(1) The papers fall into three main groups: Correspondence, Letters of Orders, and Missionary Bonds. The Correspondence, which forms the largest and most important group, is provisionally arranged according to the colonies or dependencies to which it relates, and should be further arranged either chronologically or in alphabetical order of writers within these divisions, whichever method seems more appropriate on close examination. A chronological arrangement of the Letters of Orders and Missionary Bonds will probably be sufficient.

(2) When this arrangement is completed, the papers should be divided into volumes for binding and the leaves foliated. It is not pos-

sible to say how many volumes will result, but it is not likely to be less than about seventy-five. A certain amount of repair would need to be done at this stage, but it would not be an excessively large item.


(3) The next step would be to make a catalogue. There are three ways in which this may be done, depending on the amount of details which it is desired to include. The minimum would consist of a brief description of each volume and a comprehensive index of persons and places. Alternatively, a list of the items in each volume might be made, or—and this is without doubt the best method—a detailed description of each document. For both of these alternatives, it would be necessary to include an index. Within certain limits, it may be said, the more detail a catalogue contains, the better it is. When the catalogue was prepared, the last stage in the work would be to print it.

It is very difficult to estimate the cost of this program, or the time required to complete it. The binding and repair may possibly come to about £1,000. The cost of maintaining a scholar to do the work would depend on the amount of detail which the catalogue contained. The minimum could not be done in less than a year, and a detailed catalogue would probably take two years to complete. In addition, there would be the cost of printing. It is difficult to see how the whole undertaking could be completed for less than £2,000 or £3,000. This is no small sum, but in view of the importance of the material, there can be no doubt that the money would be well spent.

A great deal would depend on the person employed to do the work. For many reasons, it is desirable that he should be an American student. The papers relate entirely to America, the work could only be done on the scale described with American aid, and, finally, an American student would have the necessary background for the full understanding of the material.

# The Library of Robert Leighton (1611-1684), Bishop of Dunblane

By G. W. H. Davidson\*

 OHN RUSKIN, asked to support the scheme for restoring the roofless ruin of Dunblane Cathedral, replied he would rather see a railway line run through it. Fortunately, however, the restoration was carried out with good taste, and the little gem of a cathedral is well worth a visit, with its eighth-century Celtic Cross, Culdee Tower (curiously askew with the cathedral wall), excellent thirteenth-century nave and west window, and some very good modern woodcarving and glass. The cathedral looks down "On the Banks of Allan Water," and beside it there stands the Leighton Library, of much interest to specialists.

Grandson of a Roman Catholic, and son of a resolute Puritan who lost an ear and suffered harsh treatment during the regime of Laud, because he called Queen Henrietta Maria an idolatress and a daughter of Heth, Robert Leighton (1611-1684) became Bishop of Dunblane in 1662, and Archbishop of Glasgow in 1669. During this time, the fury of religious conflict mounted steadily to bitter climax. The efforts of the saintly Leighton to bring about toleration and a compromise between Episcopalian and Presbyterian found no response among the extremist leaders of either side, and in 1674 he returned to the peace of his library. The remainder of his days was spent in study and devotions. He published nothing during his life, but his papers were printed posthumously and went through several editions. The fifteen hundred books he left behind to found a library for the clergy of the diocese of Dunblane show him a polymath characteristic of the seventeenth century; the two thousand added later are typical of the high standards of eighteenth century culture.

Leighton was a great Hebrew scholar, and thus the most important section of his books is that of Semitic and Oriental languages; of its one hundred fifty volumes, more than fifty, it is surprising to find, are not in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

One of the most interesting is a Latin translation of the Koran. In the first half of the twelfth century, while the Spaniards were reconquering northern Spain from the Moors, the Spanish rulers and the Western Church made great efforts to convert their new Moham-

\* Mr. Davidson is the Librarian of the Leighton Library.—*Editor's note.*

medan subjects. In 1142, Robertus de Anglia, commissioned by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, translated the Koran and wrote an account of Islamic doctrine. His work was the basis of all Medieval Europe's knowledge of the Koran. The Leighton Library possesses a copy of the Basle, 1542-3 edition, the first time the work was printed. It contains also a letter from Peter the Venerable to Bernard of Clairvaux (author of several hymns still found in our hymn books), sending him a copy of Robert's work. There is a Foreword by Martin Luther and numerous marginal notes in beautifully written Arabic, criticizing a number of Robert's translations.

There is a remarkable collection of books by the Buxtorfs,<sup>1</sup> the leading European Hebrew scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Other works in this section are:

A Life of Christ in Persian, a Nestorian Christian work, with translation by H. Xavier, Leyden, 1639.

Order of Prayers for Festivals according to the use of Spanish Synagogues, Venice, 1614.

The Polyglot Bible, a magnificently bound set of six folio volumes, 1657-1667, six chiefly Eastern languages, with parallel Latin translations.

The Leighton Library has many finely bound folios of the Early Fathers and much Church history, including the Acts of the Synod at Ephesus, 431, held under the sanction of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentine, against the Nestorian heresy, and published in 1591; Paolo Sarpi's *Historie of the Council of Trent*, translated by Nathaniel Brent and published in 1620; a history of the projected union of the Greek and Latin Churches, by Sylvester Sguropoulos, *Conciliū Florentine Excellentissima Narratio*, translated into Latin by Robert Creighton and published in 1660; an account of the Cardinals' Conclaves which elected the popes from Clement V (1305) to Alexander III (1657), published in 1657; the story of the Conclave of 1492, which elected Rodrigo Borgia as pope, shows his perfect understanding of the Hitler technique for the intimidation of citizens and cardinals; also, the seven volume *History of the Popes* (1749-1766), by Archibald Bower, who had been professor of history at the University at Rome and was an ex-counsellor of the Inquisition.

The collection includes four books by Erasmus published before

<sup>1</sup> These leading German Protestant Hebraists were:

JOHANNES BUXTORF, the Elder (1564-1629) and

JOHANNES BUXTORF, the Younger (1599-1664).—*Editor's note.*

1540, and the edition of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* "expurgata," by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, and published in Cologne, 1629. There is a Plutarch printed at Basel in 1542, which at one time belonged to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded for plotting to kill Queen Elizabeth and then to marry Mary, Queen of Scots.

Of Scottish books, there is a four volume *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* from the 14th Century, collected by R. Sibbald (Edinburgh, 1803), which contains the original version of Sir David Lindsay's *Satire on the Three Estais*.

Of Scottish Church history, the library has the following early editions:

John Knox's *History of the Reformation*, Calvin's *Institutes* (1579), Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (shorter edition, 1589). Wodrow's *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, 1660-1688*, a famous book (Edinburgh, 1721); Crookshank's *State and Suffering of the Church of Scotland, 1660-1688* (London, 1779), which present the Presbyterian point of view. Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* (London, 1779) describes the treatment of Episcopalians in Scotland after the rising of '45.

The library also has two books printed by the private press set up at Edinburgh in 1680 by James, Duke of York (afterwards James II), for the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.

Wishart's *Life of the Marquis of Montrose* is a famous contemporary book about a famous character in 17th century Scotland.

Several histories of special periods contain information sometimes difficult to obtain elsewhere. Among these are the *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, confidential adviser to Mary, Queen of Scots (3rd edition, 1752); and Joseph MacCormack's *State Papers and Letters Addressed to William Carstares* (Edinburgh, 1774) is an account of Scottish affairs under William III and Anne, based on original documents. It contains two letters in cypher, with transcriptions, written by the first Duke of Argyll during the conspiracy which led to his execution. Also, the report *in extenso* of the commission of enquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe, 1692. The blame is placed on the Master of Stait, whose "orders to his subordinates were in no way warranted, but quite exceeded his instructions from the king." Carstares (1649-1715) was a Scottish clergyman and trusted adviser (1693-1702) to William III on Scottish affairs. He was popularly nicknamed "Cardinal Carstares."

Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* in 21 volumes (Edinburgh, 1791-1799) gives a most detailed picture of the country at that time; the minister of each parish describes the geography, fauna and flora of his district and the work of the people.

Three handsomely bound volumes, *Ossian's Poems and Their Authenticity* (1810), by the same Sir John Sinclair, recall the violent controversy over MacPherson's *Ossian*, Dr. Johnson's declaration that there were no Gaelic originals of the Ossian poems, MacPherson's explanation that he was prevented from publishing them by lack of funds, the gift of £1,000 by the Highland Society of India, MacPherson's continued evasions and death; and finally in these three volumes are printed the Gaelic "originals," MacPherson's "translation" and a Latin translation. Recently, the director of the National Library of Scotland informed me that even these "originals" are not genuine.

The same James MacPherson (or Macpherson) (1736-1796) was also a historian, and the library has his two volumes of *Original Papers*, the "Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to Queen Anne" (1775). MacPherson obtained access to all the documents in the Scots College at Paris (destroyed later in the French Revolution). He was allowed to copy from the papers of Nairne, secretary at St. Germain's to King James II and his son, the "Old Pretender," which gave details of the secret negotiations between Marlborough and the other English leaders with both the exiled Stuarts and the Hanoverians. Also included in the above volumes are an autobiography of James II, and an account of the expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen, which puts James II in a more favorable light.

Of other books, mention should be made of the first book published in English on logic—Thomas Wilson's *Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique set forth in Englishe*. This work was dedicated to Edward VI. A *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (1474?-1530) "by one of his Domesticks" (George Cavendish) describes the regal magnificence of his household and his entertainments. An undated book, *Precious Pearl*, contains a letter written by the seventeen year old Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554) the night before her execution.

The *Eikon Basilike*, said to have been written by King Charles I while in prison and published six months after his execution in 1649, was a work much treasured by Leighton, as was his 1620 edition of Thomas à Kempis.

There are numerous works of importance concerning European history: Machiavelli's *Works* (1550); Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617) *History of the Huguenots*, published in 1620, has a graphic account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. A number of books published in Paris, which throw unexpected light on the freedom accorded the Huguenots in the years preceding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, are also in the library. *The Memoirs of the*



*Marshall Duke of Berwick* (1779) were written by himself, a natural son of James II. He led French troops to victory against the English in Spain.

Lives of Spanish statesmen such as Cardinal Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752) and Jan Willem, Duke of Ripperda (1680-1737), are in this library also. Ripperda, a Dutch-born adventurer, was an astonishing religious turncoat. He started out as a Protestant. While Dutch ambassador to Spain, he became a Roman Catholic, and entered the Spanish diplomatic service. When his diplomacy failed, he was imprisoned, escaped to Holland, and again became a Protestant. Later, he served under the Sultan of Morocco, and became a Mohammedan. But defeat dogged his steps, and even his new name, Osman Pasha, could not bring him victory. The army he commanded was defeated at Ceuta (1733), and he spent his last years in exile at Tetuan.

The *Life of Gustavus Adolphus* (1594-1632), written just after he was killed at the battle of Lutzen at the age of thirty-eight, is one of the library's prized possessions. Also, *Frederick the Great's Life*, written by himself, translated into English in thirteen volumes, was published in 1789. Volume VIII contains his correspondence with Voltaire.

Among first editions in the library, that of Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*, which appeared in 1620, should be mentioned. The *Certain Miscellany Works*, published in 1620 by Bacon's chaplain, William Rowley, contains Bacon's speech for the prosecution of Lady Essex in the Overbury case.

Many travel books are to be found in the Leighton Library. For the Far East, the Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault's work on the Christian martyrs in Japan (1623) describes the rapid spread, followed by the sudden and violent extinction, of Christianity in that country. George Lord Macartney's *Embassy to China* (1797) and John Z. Holwell's *History of Bengal* (1766) are of much interest. Judge William Bolt's *Bengal* (1772-75) describes the author's quarrels with Robert Lord Clive and Harry Verelst, governors of Bengal.

There are several volumes dealing with the great voyages of discovery in the Southern Hemisphere, which were printed in the eighteenth century. The *Novis Orbis Regionum*, edited by Simon Grynaeus and published in Basle in 1537, gives contemporary accounts of the voyages of Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. Alexander MacKenzie's *Voyages from Montreal . . . to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years 1789 and 1793* (1801) describes the Canada of the Indians, and has a history of Hudson's Bay and the fur trade.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the great interest taken by England

in the history of the British North American colonies is reflected in the number of books in the library on this subject. The collection includes William Douglass' *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements and present state of the British Settlements in North America* (1760); Colonel Robert Rogers' *Concise Account of North America. . . . To which is Subjoined an Account of the Several Nations and Tribes of Indians Residing in Those Parts* (1765); and his *Journals* (1765), which describe his military activities in North America; George Chalmers' *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies from Their Settlement to the Peace of 1763* (1780); and an account of the War of Independence, *A View of North America*, by an anonymous author, which was published in Glasgow, 1780-81. This contains, among other things, a detailed description of the *Mechinza*, an extraordinary fete held by the British officers in Philadelphia in 1778, just before Lord Howe's evacuation.

# "Lo, I Come To Do Thy Will, O God"

*An Appreciation of Bishop Charles Henry Brent  
(1862-1929)\**

By Frederick Ward Kates†

**I**F history is, as Thomas Carlyle would claim, the biography of great men, then the history of the building of the reign of God on earth in this twentieth century since the coming of God to man in Christ can be clearly traced in the lives of a gallant, apostolic company, which would certainly include the names of Mercier of Belgium, Temple of England, Azariah in India, Berggrav in Norway, Schweitzer in Africa, Soderblom in Sweden, Bonhoeffer in Germany. And not least in any list of servants of the universal Church in our time would stand the name of Charles Henry Brent of America, whom we honor this day in this service commemorating his death thirty years ago, on March 27, 1929, in Lausanne, Switzerland.

At first, a rather shy, diffident clergyman, quietly exercising his ministry as an inconspicuous parish priest in the South End of Boston, Massachusetts, and then suddenly chosen by his Church at the age of thirty-nine to initiate its missionary enterprise in the Philippine Islands, Charles Henry Brent developed during the subsequent years into one of the most intrepid and magnificent ambassadors of Christ the world has known for many years. When he died, the Christian world mourned the passing of a man who had grown in his lifetime into one of contemporary Christendom's foremost leaders and spokesmen, prophets and saints.

The world first knew of Charles Henry Brent as a missionary of apostolic fiber and character laboring in the remote Philippines. It is extremely doubtful whether he himself was ever aware of his importance as a missionary leader. Our Church's solid and splendid work in the

\* Delivered April 12, 1959, in Washington Cathedral, at a Commemoration Service noting the thirtieth anniversary of Bishop Brent's death on March 27, 1929.

† The Rev. Frederick Ward Kates is rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland. He edited the four preceding published articles in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*:

- (1) "Walking With God," XXV (1956), pp. 317-352.
- (2) "The Inner Life of a Modern Saint," XXVI (1957), pp. 123-153.
- (3) "My Little Book of Praise," XXVII (1958), pp. 89-111.
- (4) "The Way of Peace," XXVII (1958), pp. 332-339.

Philippines today continues to build on the sure foundations he laid. He introduced into the missionary enterprise policies of strategy and practices of tactics which nowadays are accepted as standard. It was his experience and career as a missionary in a foreign land among primitive peoples that equipped him for, and led him into, an ever-widening involvement in international affairs. Found among his literary remains is the following undated statement, an eloquent testimony of his opinion regarding the value of missionary effort:

"I am convinced from careful and extensive observations of missions in many lands that, considering the number of men and women serving as missionaries and the amount of money invested in the work of missions, the returns are such as cannot be paralleled by any other enterprise in history."

From the mountains of Luzon, he moved in 1917 to the battlefields of Europe, to serve as Senior Headquarters Chaplain of the American Expeditionary Force under General Pershing whom he had confirmed in 1910 in Manila. In this capacity, he was the equivalent of Chief-of-Chaplains of the American troops in Europe, directing 1,300 chaplains and coordinating the activities of religious and social agencies dealing with the spiritual and moral problems of the men in uniform. Frequently he was employed as a goodwill ambassador, smoothing out friction between organizations engaged in war work, or, on a high diplomatic errand, ironing out friction between allied nations. He was a constant and constructive interpreter between the United States and Great Britain. The present structure of the Army Chaplains' Corps owes much to his recommendations, based on his wartime experience.

To Bishop Brent, the war was an unmitigated disaster and tragedy, and the beginning of the sorrows of which we, forty-five years later, have not yet seen the end. To him, the war-years were a soul-searing experience. "The war cut him to the heart," reported an Australian bishop-friend. If he went into the war a priest and patriot, he came out of it a statesman, a prophet, and a seer. He wrote in his diary July 28, 1918:

"The horrors of war and its savagery increase. God grant that we may in the end declare to all ages the futility of force as an agent of God's Kingdom."

Deeply baptized in suffering, shocked and sickened by the brutality and carnage, the waste and evil, of war, more international than ever before in his outlook and influence, he now added one more cause to those he served—the cause of permanent peace, of peace among the nations by means of peace among the Churches.

Though he had been elected fourth Bishop of Western New York on October 2, 1917, it was not until his wartime duties were completed that he began on February 6, 1919, his work as diocesan of the area now comprising the dioceses of Western New York and Rochester. With him came new life into the diocese, and through him it shared in the great causes with which his name was identified and of which he was in many instances the spearhead.

Bishop Brent's passionate dedication to the cause of an organically reunited Christendom dates from 1910, when at an international missionary conference in Edinburgh he noted in his diary under date of October 5th:

"At the morning Eucharist there came vividly before me the possibility of a world conference on Faith and Order."

His wartime experience only intensified his convictions regarding the urgent necessity of welding into one the splintered Body of Christ, "not at all costs, but at all risks," if the Christian Church was to bear any significant and decisive witness in the modern world. The First World Conference on Faith and Order, convened in Lausanne, Switzerland, August 3-21, 1927, over which he presided as president and guiding genius, marked the culmination of his endeavors as the apostle of Church unity in our time.

Poignantly aware of "how much that is new is beginning," Bishop Brent became in the post-war years a prophet of the new era, and increasingly during his latter years do we find him speaking forth, not only as a world citizen, Christian statesman, and ecumenically-minded churchman, but as a clarion-voiced, clear-eyed and confident prophet of things to come.

The burden of his message and its constant refrain was unity and peace, coupled with a reiterated challenge to men to rise level to the heroic needs of the present hour. The commonwealth of mankind was his concern. The realm of God on earth he viewed as all peoples living together in harmony and peace, united one to another and each and all to God, the common Father, in the Church of Christ. "It is our creative responsibility to shape the world and make it according to a pattern given us by God," he declared; and this pattern is that of a world at peace, for "war, or organized destruction, is the negation of society; unity or organized construction, is fulfilment."

His last great sermon, delivered in Canterbury Cathedral on No-

vember 25, 1928,<sup>1</sup> four months before his death, is filled with the luster of his glorious idealism. It was not as a statesman of the world and as a Christian mystic that he made his confession:

"I am not ashamed to bare my soul to you. I glory in the fact that an incomparable vision holds me in its gracious thrall. It is not so much that I possess it as that it possesses me. My vision is of a world in the here and now at peace and unity with itself."

Such in scant outline is Bishop Brent's life, an inspiring story of staggering accomplishment in a brief span of years. As "one of God's noblemen," he will, we pray, long be held in honor, and most of all, surely, for his labors on behalf of peace among God's people around the earth and for his efforts to reunite the broken Body of Christ on earth. Those, like ourselves, who delight to pay him tribute do so gladly for additional reasons, the first of which is that he will always stand before them as "an embodiment of the true Christian ideal" of manhood.

His shining, splendid, transparently Christian manhood—that is what impressed people who knew him, saw him, heard him, met him. "Manhood is the goal of man," he once said, and he himself superbly achieved that goal. Intellectually, morally, spiritually, physically, he was a master of men, and men recognized him as such. The incarnation of the true Christian gentleman, chivalrous toward women, adoring children, a man among men who showed men what a man should be, and, with God's grace, could be—such a one was he whom we commemorate today.

As a Christian pioneer and frontiersman, all his life working where the conflict between the spirit of Christ and the spirit of this world was sharpest, Bishop Brent will always be honored. Unfailingly, he sought to bring Christian convictions to bear upon the major social problems of his day, particularly those of ecclesiastical misunderstanding and rivalry, the relations between nations, races and industrial groups, education, and traffic in narcotics. Few churchmen, in his generation or our own, have been so incessantly active and effective in dealing Christianly with social problems as he, and none touched life more relevantly and at so many points. He who said that "the Church's duty is always to be at war with the forces of evil" and that "the Church's chief enemy is fear. We are too desperately afraid to make ventures lest we should soil our clothes or bruise our feet," was ever to be found in the heart of the battle for a better world for men.

<sup>1</sup> Published in full in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XXVII (1958), pp. 332-339.

An an exemplar and master of the spiritual life, Bishop Brent looms a giant among us. Well he knew that—

The angels keep their ancient places.  
Turn but a stone to start a wing.  
'Tis we, 'tis our estranged faces  
That miss the many-splendored thing.

From his boyhood days in the Anglican rectory in Newcastle, Ontario, where his father served as rector for forty-two years, through his years in Boston with the Cowley Fathers and at St. Stephen's Church, and through all the crowded years of his episcopate, Bishop Brent knew well the values and beauties of an ordered spiritual life, and trained and exercised himself in the practices and skills of the interior life. He never lost sight of "the many-splendored thing." His true life-center was neither statesmanship nor humanitarianism. His was a life utterly grounded and centered on Christ and his whole life was one lived and rooted in prayer.

In his 1905 Notebook, when he was a lonely, overborne, young missionary bishop laboring among savages halfway across the world, he wrote:

"We must enter heaven and sojourn in it a space every day in order to understand the meaning of life and do the work that lies before us. The courts of heaven are but a step away. The doors are shut neither day nor night. Anyone who believes in God can find his way to the very throne."

Truly he wrote, and continually and constantly he himself found his way to the throne; and in the power and beauty of what he learned, there he found grace to do and to be among men all that he did and all that he was.

Above all else, Bishop Brent is honored, and should be honored, by us of the Church Militant today as one who performed in all he did the will of God, and did so with a consistent and inspiring fidelity that shames our tame and timid and tepid discipleship.

In a now long-forgotten devotional book he wrote, "The magnitude of a man is measured by the magnitude of his motive." His own motive, from his earliest days as a young priest entering on his ministry, was clearly and irrevocably set: it was "entire and absolute surrender to God, to do His will and carry out His purposes at whatever cost, through whatever difficulty. . . ." This, no less, was the cry of his heart, early and late, his dominant desire, the fixed determination of his

heart and mind and will. "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God" (Hebrews 10:9) is the text for his life. "The only thing I really fear," he wrote in his diary, May 17, 1902, "is failure to do God's will."

During Lent 1908, Bishop Brent devoted himself to a study of the Gospel according to St. John. An unpublished prayer, composed during those days of meditative study, best expresses his aim in life and his highest aspiration, and sums up in a handful of sentences the spiritual history of this modern-day saint:

"**L**ORD, Jesus, I accept Thee as my King. Take me as Thy subject and rule my unruly life. Thy reign is just and generous. Unveil its beauty to me. Thou didst win Thy throne by conquest, and would share it with all who conquer self. Make it my joy to do Thy will, whatever it may be. Help me to find satisfaction in thwarting my self-indulgent desires, that I may promote the Kingdom which is not of this world."

If the worship of God is in no small part "the honoring of His gifts in other men, each according to his genius, and loving the greatest men best," then we act rightly in pausing midst our pressing, daily concerns to offer homage in praise of Charles Henry Brent, one of the truly great men of our time both in Church and in State, one who was more widely known perhaps overseas than at home and in other Churches than our own, and who was esteemed by the world's great and humble as few Americans have been before or since his time.

"The great men of a nation are its foundation-stones and pillars: the mass of its people are its walls," Bishop Brent wrote in his 1918 Notebook. Men like Charles Henry Brent, whose wills are rooted in doing the will of God, are in truth the foundation-stones of any and every nation and indeed of our own. As he spoke of another (Willard Straight) at his graveside during World War I, so we may say of Bishop Brent: "Death cannot conquer so knightly a soul." And, in the words of Principal Alfred Ernest Garvie, his deputy at the historic Lausanne Conference of 1927, on hearing of his death,

"That he is with us no longer to lead is a call to us all to follow more closely his invisible leader."



## Book Reviews

### I. American Church History

*A Brief History of the Church in West Texas.* By Lawrence L. Brown.  
Published by the Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas. 1959.  
Pp. vi, 74 (paper).

This little book, with a Foreword by Bishop Everett H. Jones, was written by the Rev. Dr. Lawrence L. Brown, of the Seminary of the Southwest, to supplement and expand the necessarily limited treatment of the old Missionary District of Western Texas and the present Diocese of West Texas (organized in 1904) contained in Dr. DuBose Murphy's *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Texas*, published in 1935.

The author modestly disclaims any attempt to write a definitive history of the Church in West Texas, but hopes that his efforts will stimulate others. The area covered is that portion of the State of Texas west of the Colorado River and south of a straight west-east line extending from the western tip of Texas near El Paso to the Colorado River. Since West Texas became a diocese, the extreme western counties were added to the Missionary District of New Mexico, now the Diocese of New Mexico and Southwest Texas. Other counties were added to the Missionary District constituting the present Diocese of Northwest Texas.

Touching briefly on the early establishment of the Church in the Gulf Coast counties as far as Brownsville, in San Antonio, El Paso, and elsewhere during the episcopate of the pioneer Bishop of Texas, Alexander Gregg, Dr. Brown goes into greater detail after the setting off of Western Texas from the Diocese of Texas in 1874.

The first Missionary Bishop, Robert Barnwell Woodward Elliott, son of Bishop Stephen Elliott of Georgia (Presiding Bishop of the Church in the Confederate States), and himself a Confederate veteran, pursued a wise missionary strategy in establishing the work throughout his vast jurisdiction with limited resources of funds and manpower. He literally wore himself out in the work, dying at the age of forty-seven in 1887.

His successor, Bishop Joseph Steptoe Johnson, another Confederate veteran, manfully developed the policies of his predecessor in the face of many discouragements, and brought the work to diocesan status.

Bishop William Theodotus Capers, son of another Confederate veteran, Bishop Ellison Capers of South Carolina, and grandson of a Methodist bishop, carried on during the years of World War I, the difficult and discouraging years of the Depression, and into the years of World War II.

Under the present Bishop, Everett Holland Jones, a native son of the diocese, West Texas has pursued a vigorous missionary policy

which has made it one of the most rapidly growing dioceses of the Church.

Dr. Brown has given, in short compass, a vivid picture of the ventures, the frustrations and deferred hopes, the triumphs and the disappointments, of four capable and devoted episcopal leaders. And, at the same time, he has given due and proper recognition to scores of consecrated priests and laymen who have upheld the hands of their bishops and have made possible the fine achievements of recent years.

No price is named for this little booklet. Our guess is that \$1.00 sent to the author at 606 Rathervue Place, Austin, Texas will be sufficient to procure it.

*St. Simeon's Home,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

E. H. ECKEL.



1859—*And the Bishop Came to Austin.* By Weldon Hart. Austin. 1959. Pp. 22.

This attractively printed and illustrated brochure, by a former senior warden of St. David's Church, Austin, Texas, is written in tribute to Alexander Gregg, first Bishop of Texas, and dedicated to the present Bishop, John Eldridge Hines, on the occasion of the 110th Annual Council of the Diocese of Texas, held in St. David's. It narrates, with charming literary skill, the early beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Austin, the divided sentiments of the citizens prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, the organization of a schismatic parish, and the reunion of both parishes when the newly consecrated bishop came to Austin to make his home. The reunited parish received a new name—St. David's, after Bishop Gregg's former parish at Cheraw, South Carolina. During the war, the Southern-born Bishop and a Northern-born rector were sharply at odds. But when the conflict was over, Bishop Gregg was the first person in Austin to take the required oath of allegiance to the Union. The brochure abounds in interesting personality studies, and shows how St. David's, Austin, reflected in miniature what was happening in the Protestant Episcopal Church during those trying years of strife and turmoil, and the spirit which made possible the reunion of the Church when the Confederacy ceased to be.

We imagine that copies of this delightful brochure may be had for about 50 cents from the Rev. Charles A. Sumners, rector of St. David's.

E. H. ECKEL.



*The First 100 Years, the Diocese of Kansas.* Edited by a Centennial Committee. Lawrence, Kansas. The Allen Press, 1959. Pp. 124 (paper). \$1.25.

Copiously illustrated, with pictures of each of the bishops (including Jackson Kemper and Henry Washington Lee) who have had jurisdiction in Kansas, with pictures of early clergy, Church institutions, and a group picture of the present clergy, and with pictures of all the present churches in the diocese, this booklet makes a very attractive souvenir of the centennial of a diocese which was organized two years before the state of Kansas was admitted to the Union. Its organization, in fact, was the result of a *coup* by the staunchly Evangelical and anti-slavery "Philadelphia Society for Missions in the West," which aided the diocese during its "bow-legged" years and sought to propagate and entrench its expressed type of churchmanship.

A preface by the Centennial Committee disclaims any intention of producing a definitive history of the diocese. Bishops Goodrich R. Fenner and Edward C. Turner acknowledge with gratitude the labors of the Centennial Committee, with special recognition of Mr. Park Wilcox of Wichita and Dr. Winnie D. Lowrance of the University of Kansas for their work as editors, and of Mrs. Robert Taylor for her research in writing of missions which once flourished and no longer exist.

The contents include a brief history of the diocese, a chapter on the various bishops, an account of various churches which witnessed in their day and ceased to be, a survey of the diocese as it is organized and functions today, the clergy of the diocese, a brief account of the women's work, and brief illustrated sketches of each of the present parishes and missions in the order of their founding. An epilogue by Bishop Turner, entitled "Looking Ahead," envisions the program of expansion to be carried out in connection with the Extension Fund drive, to which \$590,000 has been pledged, to be paid in the next three years. The diocese, which had its small beginning during the unsettled days of "border warfare," felt the impact of the Civil War, survived natural calamities such as grasshopper plagues, droughts, and floods, and which went through recurrent economic crises and loss of population, now shares the substantial growth which characterizes all the jurisdictions of the Seventh Province. It has been blessed not only with able bishops, but also with strong clerical and lay leaders who have laid enduring foundations and enabled their successors, under wise episcopal leadership, to enter into their present inheritance.

We were interested to read a convincing rebuttal of the charge that a clever bit of ecclesiastical gerrymandering had been put across when the Missionary District of Salina was set up in such manner that Kansas might have most of the population and Salina most of the geography. In 1901, when Salina was set off, travel was done almost entirely by train. Newton, Wichita, Winfield, Wellington, and Arkansas City could not be reached by train from Salina, but were easily accessible to Topeka via the Santa Fe Railway. And even Wichita in those days was a small

city, giving no promise of its fabulous growth of recent years.

We call attention to one error of fact. Bishop Millspaugh, though he was a close friend and former student of Bishop Elisha S. Thomas at the old Seabury Divinity School, did *not* succeed Bishop Thomas as rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minnesota. He was rector of St. Paul's Church, *Minneapolis*, when he was called to Grace Cathedral, Topeka, later to succeed his old friend as Bishop of Kansas. I know whereof I speak, for Bishop Thomas was one of my predecessors (my most distinguished predecessor, in fact) at St. Paul's, St. Paul, and Bishop Millspaugh was not.

E. H. ECKEL.



*The Episcopal Church in Fulton County, Illinois, 1835-1939. With Some Early History of the Episcopal Church in Illinois and the English Settlement in Alton.* By Constance H. Swartzbaugh. Privately printed, Canton Daily Ledger, Canton, Illinois., 1959. Pp. 187.

This book is centered around the turbulent, and in many periods sad, history of a struggling small parish, St. Peter's in Canton, Illinois. This history is placed, as the title indicates, into a wider frame: the two first chapters giving an instructive survey of the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Illinois.

As a parish history, the book, candidly written in an unpretentious chronicle style and visibly a work of love and dedication, is in some ways exemplary. It is based on a thorough acquaintance with the comparatively rich sources, well documented and illustrated. A special recognition is due to the useful tabulations (chronology of vestries, committees, baptisms, etc.) in the appendix. There is of course a large amount of detail, anecdotes and reminiscences, which will interest only the local reader; the biographical element is extensively presented. Many deserving Church people, clergy and lay, have found their little niche here.

If one aim of a parish history is the strengthening of the family spirit of the congregation, the stress on personal history is justified. The more generally interested Church historian will gratefully use the color strokes which a book of this special character contributes to the picture of Church life in the 19th and 20th century. Perhaps he will be surprised to learn that the revival of a discouraged Episcopal parish, which already had had itself demoted to a mission, was caused by the impact of "the renowned evangelist, the Rev. William A. Sunday," better known as Billie Sunday, on the city of Canton, Illinois; but Mrs. Swartzbaugh tells the story quite convincingly.

RICHARD G. SALOMON.

*Bexley Hall,  
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Gambier, Ohio.*

## II. English and General Church History

*Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge.* By H. C. Porter. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. xi+462. \$10.00.

Cambridge, during the Tudor and early Stuart period, was indeed a miniature sample of the Church of England during the same period, reflecting in its life all the cross-currents that flowed into the making of the English Reformation. Dr. Porter, former research fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, now lecturer in history at the University of Toronto, has given us in this volume a scholarly, yet very readable, narrative of the religious life of Cambridge during this fascinating and revolutionary century.

We begin with the Cambridge of Cardinal John Fisher, "the first of five Tudor Chancellors . . . to meet death on the scaffold." The two colleges which, with the Lady Margaret, he founded, were destined ironically to become notorious strongholds of factious Calvinist Puritanism. Medieval Cambridge is associated with monks and friars. The disappearance of the religious habit in Cambridge in the late 1530's "must be numbered among the real breaks in academic history."

Fisher's contemporary, Erasmus, probably held the Lady Margaret chair of divinity (which Fisher had first held) from 1511 to 1514. A victim of ill health, the great humanist was not particularly happy at Cambridge; but his genius for friendship enabled him to leave an indelible mark upon the life of the university.

Bilney, Latimer, Tyndale, Cranmer, John Rogers, and many a lesser reformer, set the tone of Cambridge during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and during the short reign of Edward VI. The most influential figure during Edward's reign, however, was the Continental reformer, Martin Bucer, who on the whole exercised a moderate influence. Bucer approved of the Communion Office of the 1549 Prayer Book, though he disliked the eucharistic vestments, the sign of the cross, prayers for the dead, and much else in the book, and left his mark on the 1552 Prayer Book. Other reformers, meanwhile, were inveighing against images, prayers to the saints, pilgrimages and vows, "and such like other inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured."

The reign of Mary saw the martyrdom of some of the reformers and the exile of many others. But the accession of Elizabeth I on November 17, 1558, saw the return of most of the exiles, greatly influenced by their contacts with the Continental reformers, and especially with Calvin and his followers. For the time being, it looked as if the English Reformation might follow the Calvinist pattern. But not all the returned exiles were revolutionaries and trouble-makers. Some of them, like Matthew Parker, Sandys, Grindal, Cox, Horne, and Pilkington, became bishops, combining a mild Calvinism with adherence to Catholic order and tradition. Cambridge, however, became the stamping ground of a more extreme type of Puritans, who were in revolt against authority and tradition. Generally speaking, their revolt found expression in the abolition of surplices, de-

struction of altars, statues, and vestments, and homiletic attacks against all such "popish trumpery." Individuals like Cartwright and Robert Browne carried their dissidence to the point of separation.

Our author, for all his obvious dislike of the pettiness, lack of charity, and self-righteousness of the more extreme type of Puritans, seeks to assess fairly their contribution to the ongoing life of the Church, especially in their exaltation of preaching and of the pastoral office. Cambridge, to be sure, was the nurturing ground of the separatist Pilgrims and Puritans, who later settled New England and set up Congregationalism as its established Church. But before that, it was also the nurturing ground of William Crashaw (father of the more famous Cavalier poet, Richard Crashaw) and of Alexander Whitaker—moderate Puritans both. It is of interest to American Episcopalians that Crashaw served as chaplain to the Virginia Company, and in 1611 arranged for his friend, Alexander Whitaker, to be sent to the colony to succeed Robert Hunt as chaplain to the colonists. Whitaker, the "Apostle to Virginia," was the first effective Anglican missionary in the New World. He became minister of the new parish of Henrico, fifty miles up-river from Jamestown, instructed the nineteen-year old Pocahontas in the Christian verities, and baptized her. In the spring of 1617, his frontier career was cut tragically short when he was drowned in the James River at the age of thirty-two.

The fact is that many of the "godly pastors" nurtured by the University of Cambridge, however closely they may have skirted nonconformity, were in the same tradition of country parsons as Andrewes and George Herbert. Richard Greenham, rector of Dry Drayton, 1571-1591, was perhaps the most attractive of these. And William Perkins, a thorough-going Calvinist theologian of distinction and ability, was also "the first English casuist," at one with the medieval moralists and with Andrewes, Herbert, and Jeremy Taylor.

One feels that our author turns with relief to Whitgift, Lancelot Andrewes, and John Overall, who, with invincible scholarship, attacked and pulverized the rigid Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles of Religion, emphasized the Scriptural character of "the middle way" ("Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you," etc.), and convicted the ultra-Calvinist doctrine of assurance as overweening presumption. And so the Puritan Cambridge of the Tudors, which paved the way for the Commonwealth and lived on (in modified form) in John Milton, yielded gradually to the Cambridge of the Caroline Divines and of the Restoration—the Cambridge of Andrewes, Overall, George Herbert, Cosin, Richard Crashaw, and Jeremy Taylor—and to the winsome era of Whichcote, Cudworth, and the Cambridge Platonists.

E. H. ECKEL.

*St. Simeon's Home,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



*The Sicilian Vespers.* By Stephen Runciman. Cambridge, the University Press, 1958. \$5.50, pp. xiii-338, index, plates.

In the century preceding the massacre of the French invaders in 1282 by the populace of Sicily, which came to be known as the "Sicilian Vespers," Sicily was one hub around which all European politics revolved. Its control was one of the dominant elements in German, French, Spanish, English, and Byzantine foreign policy, and most of these nations put forth at least one cadet as a claimant for its throne. Moreover, the papacy intrigued with them all for its own control of the island and of the mainland. The history of the Kingdom of Sicily in that century is possibly one of the most involved accounts in the medieval period.

That such a complicated story can be made so readable and so interesting, indicates once more that the author of the three volume *History of the Crusades* is indeed a master of his craft and of his period. His heroes are real heroes, and if his villains are not jet black, they are at least a nice comfortable brown. Fortunately, he has included extensive genealogical charts to enable the reader to trace the family connections and intrigues, marriages, and intermarriages of the extensive progeny, legitimate and otherwise, of the heads of a vast collection of miniscule principalities and of their claims and counter claims under the feudal system.

A churchman will probably find the account of the popes from Innocent IV to Boniface VIII most interesting: their desire to serve their see city was so great that they found it expedient to live in Viterbo or Orvieto rather than in Rome. It is Runciman's contention that the papal opposition to the Hohenstauffen Empire suffered such humiliating defeat in this century that papal policy fell into utter disrepute, and that this led "to the Babylonish captivity of Avignon, and through schism and disillusion to the troubles of the Reformation."

NELSON RIGHTMYER.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Glyndon, Maryland.*



*The Canons of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343, A Landmark in the Early Development of Canon Law.* By Hamilton Hess. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. \$4.50.

Three texts of the Canons of the Council of Sardica are available; the Latin Text, the Greek Text, and the Text of Theodosius Diaconus; these versions do not agree in numerous instances. Dr. Hess has done yeoman service in attempting to reconcile the differences, in presenting an historical background (with at least one novel explanation of chronology) and giving an interpretative analysis of problems such as the translation of bishops, the appointment of bishops, the rights of appeal beyond the diocesan bishop, and the problems arising from contact with



the imperial court. A number of tables and appendices add to the interest of the volume.

As an example of "masterpiece" (using the word in its medieval trade-guild sense), this is an outstanding piece of work. The author has demonstrated his ability to handle not only the languages and nuances of the canons, but also his ability to handle a bibliography of monographs representing nearly every European tongue. The volume presents the usual scholarly format which qualifies it as a university thesis, but which also militates against its general readability. This is not a volume for the casual reader, or even for the trained seminarian with scholarly interests; this is a book to prove that the author really worked for his right to add "Ph.D. (Oxon)" after his name, and it proves that he has accomplished what he set out to do.

The reader may well wish that he had included texts of the canons he discusses, and because of the paucity of conclusions, the reader may also raise the question, "Were the Canons of Sardica so important after all?"

NELSON RIGHTMYER.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Glyndon, Maryland.*



*Early Christian Doctrines.* By J. N. D. Kelly. New York, Harpers, 1958. Pp. xii, 500. \$5.75.

A lot of water has run over the dam since the late Prof. J. F. Bethune-Baker published his *Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine* in 1903. Now, more than fifty years later, Dr. J. N. D. Kelly, principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, writes another book covering the same field, which bids fair to do for the next generation or two of students what Bethune-Baker's book did for the last two generations.

As a text-book, Bethune-Baker's *Introduction* was unexcelled. He had a unique knack of labeling and pigeon-holing the significant personalities and movements of Christian thought, and the sub-titles of his chapters clarified things for the student, as I can testify from experience. Kelly pays tribute to Bethune-Baker, and owes his indebtedness to the classical historians of dogma—Harnack, Tixeront, Loofs, and Seeberg.

But a new history of the development of Christian doctrine during the formative period between the New Testament and the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) has long been overdue, and this book admirably fills the need. In Part I, Dr. Kelly takes into full account the religious and cultural background of the Roman Empire during the period under review. He is sensitive to the differing *milieus* of East and West. He is sympathetic to the pioneer creative efforts of orthodox and heretical thinkers alike, as they grappled with the theological data at their disposal. Nestorius is a conspicuous case in point. In his chapters on Tradition and the Holy Scriptures, he shows how the early Church devel-



oped the criteria of Christian orthodoxy, which found classical definition by Vincent of Lerins.

Part II deals with the Pre-Nicene Theology. We are shown in turn the unfolding of primitive Trinitarianism, the beginnings of Christology, the early efforts to define the redemptive work of Christ, and the early conceptions of the Church, its sacraments, and its discipline.

Part III covers "From Nicaea to Chalcedon." The Nicene crisis and the contribution of St. Athanasius are handled with exceptional competence. We follow the later developments of Trinitarian doctrine at the hands of Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers in the East and Augustine in the West. As the Church confronted Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Euthychianism in turn, the Chalcedonian Christology was finally hammered out, just as the conflict between Augustine and Pelagius contributed to the doctrine of Grace and to Soteriology. In a chapter on Ecclesiology, Dr. Kelly deals judiciously and fairly with the relationship of the East to the Roman See during this period, and with the significance of the Roman Primacy in the West. Sacramental teaching during this period also passes under review, with illuminating emphasis upon Penance, the Eucharistic Presence, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Part IV is an Epilogue, which reviews in comparatively brief compass the Eschatology of the first four centuries. One is impressed by the richness and variety of Christian thought in this field.

Scoffers and skeptics like Gibbon may see in the controversies of early Christianity merely stupid and ridiculous squabbles over trifles. I laid down Kelly's book with renewed feeling that God the Holy Spirit had, through the dialectical process, guided the early Church into sane and balanced definition of Christian truth. And that gives one greater confidence that the same Holy Spirit is guiding the Church, amid the controversies and problems of our day and age, into fuller understanding of the Truth that shall make men free.

E. H. ECKEL.

*St. Simeon's Home,*  
*Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



*Origen, The Song of Songs, Commentary and Homilies.* Translated and annotated by R. P. Lawson (*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 26), Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1957, vi-385 pp., \$4.00.

*St. Methodius, The Symposium, A Treatise on Chastity.* Translated and annotated by Herbert A. Musurillo, S.J., D.Phil., (*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 27), Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1959, vi-249 pp., \$3.25.

Two more excellent numbers in the ACW series give us English versions of Origen's works on the Song of Songs, previously untranslated, and of the Banquet of Methodius in a much improved version,

Both are documents of considerable interest and value—Origen's illustrates not only his allegorical exegesis but his mystical and ecclesiological teaching, while Methodius boldly challenges comparison with Plato in a Christian and Biblical approach to philosophical asceticism.

EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*



*The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople, Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire.* By Paul J. Alexander. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1959, xix-258 pp. \$8.00.

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 806-815, was a firm but charitable defender of Orthodoxy who suffered the fate of moderate men in times of crisis; only in exile was he reconciled with the more extreme section of his own party, whose final victory in 843 he had prepared for, but did not live to see. Professor Alexander, formerly of Hobart College and now of Brandeis University, has produced a well-written and authoritative study of this neglected and sympathetic figure in the history of the Byzantine Church and Empire.

EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY.



### III. Theology and Philosophy

*Parents and Priests as Servants of Redemption.* By Athenagoras Kokkinakis. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1958. \$4.00.

Athenagoras Kokkinakis, bishop of Elaia and dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School in Boston, has written a book with the ostensible purpose of instructing young Americans in two of the sacraments of the Orthodox Church, but both clerics and laity of the Western tradition will find much of interest in the volume.

In discussing the sacrament of holy matrimony, Bishop Kokkinakis minces no words in declaring that the Orthodox Church differs radically from the Western tradition in many respects. Not least of these is the question of the minister of the sacrament. Objection is raised to the Western idea that the spouses are the ministers of the sacrament.

"Since the intrinsic nature of Christian matrimony is imparted to the spouses by the Holy Spirit, through the priesthood, the minister of matrimony is the grace of God, not the decision of the spouses, as it is expressed in their promise given in the presence of the magistrate or of the priest. God is not the witness of agreement. . . . He is the author of unity . . . one may rightly question the validity of a sacrament in which the grace of God is not invoked by its proper organ. . . ."

The degrees of relationship which prevent a valid marriage will also be of interest to Anglicans, whose canons on forbidden degrees of relationship have been reduced time and again.

While the author deplores certain lax practices with regard to divorce in his own Church, he is no less demanding of the Western Churches.

"Other Christian Churches, though lax in observing other commandments of the Lord, hold that divorce is beyond the limits of their authority . . . they try to play the game of rigid legalism. . . . As used by the Roman Church, the system of annulment is even more lax than it is in the American civil courts."

Of no less interest is the discussion of the sacrament of holy orders, and Anglicans may well read the Orthodox attitude concerning Apostolic Succession. Mere tactual succession is not enough; orthodoxy of belief is of equal importance with tactual succession. The discussion of the relations of the Orthodox Churches and the Anglican Churches, on pages 123-125, should make all Anglicans realize that the Orthodox are no less rigid than Rome itself. The religiously insecure Anglican who hopes to bolster his inferiority toward Rome, by seeking approval from Constantinople, will find little solace in this volume.

Translations of the rites for the administration of holy matrimony and of holy orders will be of assistance to those who find the original tongues difficult.

NELSON RIGHTMYER.

*St. John's Rectory,  
Glyndon, Maryland.*



*The Thirty-Nine Articles.* By Kenneth N. Ross. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 90 pp. \$1.25.

The vicar of All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, London, has written a useful and succinct sketch of the history of the Articles of Religion in their English form, with an eye to commending them, in their historical setting, to contemporary Anglicans. While, on several occasions, the author seems to be pressing the Articles in a specifically "Catholic" direction and overlooking the "Reformed" aspect which is also integral to them, he is on the whole entirely fair and accurate in his presentation. This is a good little book for a parish library, and can be handed to an enquiring parishioner without fear of misinforming him about the Elizabethan statement of the Anglican position which the Articles contain.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

*Believing.* By Herbert Waddams. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 98 pp. \$2.15.

Canon Waddams has been a frequent visitor to the United States. He is at present vicar of St. Michael Paternoster Royal in London, and general secretary of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations. In this small book, he gives what he calls "a new look" at the Nicene Creed. It is an excellent little study, readable by any layperson who knows his alphabet and can do a bit of thinking, and may be heartily commended to the parish priest as well. There is nothing strikingly new in the book, but it covers with reasonable fullness the several sections of the eucharistic creed, and is written in a clear and direct style. The theological reader will find a number of places where he would wish that Canon Waddams had said things differently, but of what book may this not be said? I was myself especially impressed by the sound emphasis on the manhood of Jesus, placed by the author in perfect balance with the affirmation of Christian faith that he is "as divine as the Father himself."

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.



*Meditations on the Nicene Creed.* By Princess Ileana. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 144 pp. \$1.85.

This is a curious little book. It is not in any serious sense a theological discussion of the Creed, nor is it concerned to find ways of commending the credal affirmations to modern churchgoers. Rather it is, as its title indicates, a series of meditative chapters on the significance of the several articles in the religious life of the believer. A good deal of the treatment has a very Eastern Orthodox ring, as one might expect from a princess of the former Romanian royal house. From the point of view of critical history, it is sometimes a little naïve. However, granted its particular kind of approach, it is a useful book and may be found helpful by those who wish to do more than merely mouth the credal formulae. It will make its appeal to laypeople, especially laywomen.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.



*Kirkbride Conversations.* By Harry Blamires. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 167 pp. \$2.50.

I wish that I could commend this book, for its brilliant style, cleverness of dialogue, and earnest presentation give it a certain genuine attractiveness. But I cannot commend the book, for it seems to me to be an example of the kind of Christian apologetic which, however popular

it may be these days, is in the last resort unrewarding and in its total impact dangerous and misleading.

Mr. Blamires, who is an Oxford graduate and at present a lecturer in English at King Alfred's Training College, Winchester, England, has written a half-dozen or more books before this one. They are all of them brilliant, often scintillating; and they are all of them of the same kind—a somewhat superior-minded affirmation of Christian faith which conscientiously refuses to take account of what I take to be the real obstacles that the non-believer finds in that faith. In the book under review, we have a series of discussions in which a rather saintly but very dogmatic clergyman solves most of the problems of a young enquirer; when he does not solve them he dismisses them as irrelevant. At no place in the book does the canon say that he does not know the answers, or that there is more than one way in which a Christian could look at this or that problem, or that the Church may conceivably have made a mistake or indulged in some erroneous thinking. It is all there and it is all pat and very neat.

The jacket speaks of Mr. Blamires' "wholesome and thoroughly orthodox views." I could instance some places where this might not be quite the fact, but there can be no doubt of his intentions. And yet . . . somehow, I am sure that an apologetic which is truest to the nature of Christian faith will not be quite so cocksure, quite so neat and pat; it will have a more thorough realization of the mystery of things, a more generous attitude to honest doubt and disbelief, and a greater willingness to allow for variety of expression and acceptance of the supreme Christian claim that God in Christ has given us the secret of this vast, terrifying, mysterious, and wonderful world in which we have been set.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.



*The Presence of Eternity: History and Eschatology.* By Rudolf Bultmann. New York, Harper, 1957. Pp. 171. \$3.00.

Probably no name is better known in religious circles than that of Rudolf Bultmann for his numerous writings in New Testament criticism and for his application of existentialist philosophical concepts to the problems of Biblical interpretation.

In this little book, the Gifford Lectures for 1955, he traces the attempts to understand the meaning of history from the earliest *myths* and *chronicles* through the Greek and Roman on the one hand, and the Biblical on the other, to modern writers. As has been frequently said, it is only in the Jewish-Christian tradition that history could be taken seriously, since the Greeks, with their cyclic view of reality, reduced history to a départment of cosmology. In late Judaism and in Christianity, "history is swallowed up in eschatology" (p. 37). But when the expected return of Christ was delayed, the Church had to rethink its position, and, beginning with Eusebius, Church-history was set in the

frame of world-history, and "world-history in a strict sense comes into being for the first time" (p. 57). History now has a meaning, not immanent in itself, but imposed on it by the divine providence.

With the Renaissance, the secularization of history which, as Bultmann says, was latent in the thought of the Middle Ages, became dominant, and this "scientific" attitude towards history, in which the historian prided himself on his pure objectivity, has continued down to the present. As early as Schleiermacher, however, it came to be felt that such "scientific objectivity" was impossible, since the historian, unlike the natural scientist, as a human being is himself intimately involved in history. In modern times, such men as Dilthey, Croce, Jaspers, Toynbee, and Collingwood, each in his own way, have tried to develop a philosophy of history, which will take account of this fact, and have tried to find a meaning in history that is beyond history, and which will furnish a unifying principle. Such attempts, however, without belief in a divine providence are bound to fail.

In a final chapter, Bultmann argues for an existentialist approach to the problem, since man is both the subject and the object of history. As active and responsible subject, man is not only the result of his past, both individual and racial, but he is responsible for the future. History depends upon his decision. "Historicity now gains the meaning of responsibility over against the future, which is at the same time the responsibility over against the heritage of the past in the face of the future" (p. 143). Thus history is *personal* history, and this is something Christianity alone understands, because it knows that man, in and of himself, "does not have the freedom which is presupposed for historical decisions." Unregenerate man is bound by his own past, and cannot be master of his future. Only in the proclamation and acceptance of the Christian Gospel can one find freedom from the past in redemption in Christ, so that truly responsible decisions for the future may be made.

The first nine chapters of the book are a useful survey of the whole subject, while the last obviously gives Bultmann's existentialist approach, one that colors most of his recent writings. The convinced Christian will doubtless agree with him on the main facts, although he may state his position in other terms, while the secular-minded professional historian will probably give it scant attention.

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*



*A Book of Prayers.* Compiled by John Heuss. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1957, \$2.00.

*Flame in the Mind.* By Gordon Lewis Phillips. London & New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1957, \$1.25.

*So Easy to Love.* By Brother Roger, C. R. London & New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1957, \$2.25.

*The Third Hour.* By Ben A. Meginniss. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1958, \$1.35.

These are books suited for private devotion, small in size, clearly printed, and easy to take with you wherever you go.

Dr. Heuss' collection of prayers is based on many sources; especially helpful is the adaptation of some of the prayers from the Book of Common Prayer, which bring home application and meaning.

*Flame in the Mind* is a devotional compilation from the writings of the Early Church Fathers, originally composed under the expectation of martyrdom.

Brother Roger's little book is arranged according to various topics, with the general purpose of guiding the reader into a more earnest love of God.

Mr. Meginniss offers a series of meditations on the Cross, suitable not only on Good Friday but at any other time. It approaches the Crucifixion from the standpoint of our Lord's mother. Before each chapter there is a recollection of some event in our Lord's life, with the Crucifixion used in the light of that earlier incident.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Birmingham, Alabama.*



*Bigger Than Little Rock.* By Robert R. Brown. Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, 1958. \$3.50.

The unfortunate situation which arose in Little Rock, Arkansas, on September 23, 1957, provided an opportunity for the Church to play some part in a social conflict. The Bishop of Arkansas, who has written this book, keeps himself very modestly in the background; but we know that his is one of the voices urging moderation and good will. What has happened is all past and gone, but it is still possible to learn from the past lessons, which will help prevent similar situations from arising. This, after all, is one value to be found in the study of history, and those who are concerned for the welfare of the Church will do well to prepare themselves against further developments of this nature.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*Holy Island.* By James W. Kennedy, D.D. Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1958, \$2.75.

"This book is an analogy between an actually existing island, once made holy by men who lived there, and the mental image of an island to which one can make pilgrimages at any time, where one may gain wholeness and true perspective, even as the bedlam of life dins in his ears" (p. 18). It is arranged for daily reading on each day in Lent, with special prayers at the close of each day's section. It is the kind of Lenten book which can be used profitably at any time in the year.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*Letters from the Saints.* Compiled by Claude Williamson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, \$6.00.

This volume is made up of representative and characteristic letters from saints who lived between 1225 (St. Thomas Aquinas) and 1595 (Robert Southwell). They are all of the Roman obedience and view life from that position. This is not to say that they are of no value to us, but simply to point out that figures such as John Huss and Thomas Cranmer are not included. But when it comes to the deep things of the spirit, we can make good use of material from many sources.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*Jesus: Lord and Christ.* By John Knox. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, \$4.00.

Here in one volume we have three of Professor Knox's earlier books: *The Man Christ Jesus*, *Christ the Lord*, *On the Meaning of Christ*. With the same reverent and careful scholarship which we have seen in Dr. Knox's other writings, we have here a study of the person of Christ and the consequent development of His mission in the Church. Dr. Knox represents the school of "Neo-Orthodoxy"; in other words, he is fully aware of all of the critical problems which confront the student of the New Testament, but at the same time he is fully and intelligently dedicated to the Son of God who came into this world for us men and for our salvation. Of course, it is hardly necessary to point out that this is where Church history begins—with the earthly life and public ministry of Jesus Christ.

DuBOSE MURPHY.





*The Ministry of Healing.* By John Ellis Large. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1959, \$3.00.

Any comprehensive history of the Church in recent times will call attention to the renewal of the ministry of healing, whether in the Emmanuel Movement or in other organized channels. The present work by Dr. Large tells the story of his own encounter with the healing ministry when he came to the Church of the Heavenly Rest in New York as its rector. Dr. Large was honest enough and humble enough to deal with what was evidently an actual fact, namely, that some people came to his healing services and found health. Dr. Large tells a number of case histories and then goes on to the larger question of the ministry of healing. The book is noteworthy for its sober honesty and sound treatment of difficult problems. Those who are interested will enjoy this book, and those who are not interested will neglect it to their own great loss.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*Baruch Spinoza. The Road to Inner Freedom.* By Dagobert Runes. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1957. \$3.00.

This is a popularization of Spinoza's *Ethics*, and is a manual for the reader who does not have the time to master the complex argument of the complete *Ethics*—and few of us have the time to do so—and yet wishes to discern the ethical values Spinoza is seeking. The Introduction explains the relation of Spinoza to Judaism both past and present, and the text itself is a series of translations so articulated that the general purpose of the *Ethics* is made clear. What Spinoza did want to prove was that man can achieve a victory over his passions and reach an inner freedom and peace. In the full text of the *Ethics*, this is demonstrated in a mathematical form; but in the Runes condensation this rigid form of exposition is abandoned and the inner conceptions of passion, intellect and will become manifest.

This book is one which needed to be written, and it will help us all to see Spinoza as a part of the tradition both of Judaism and of general Western culture. It reveals the values defended by Spinoza and hidden from most of us by the peculiar mathematical type of formulation used in his exposition.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South,  
Sewanee, Tennessee.*



*The Book of God by Spinoza.* Edited by Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, 1958. \$3.00.

Dr. Runes has performed a real service by making available the *Book of God*, which is in fact a preliminary study made by Spinoza for his *Ethics*. Although we may not agree with the editor that "Spinoza is considered today the Philosopher of Modern Times, as Aristotle stood as the Philosopher of Antiquity," yet we must recognize the greatness of the genius of the seventeenth century philosopher of The Hague.

As the *Book of God* is not written in the geometrical form of the *Ethics*, we more readily discern the Jewish scholastic facets of Spinoza's thought in this more simply written preliminary draft of his philosophy. In the *Book of God*, we discover that the center of Spinoza's philosophy is God and man as related to God. The relation of man to God is the key to Spinoza's ethics. It is not an ethics divorced from the desires of man; it is rather an ethics of liberation of man through his love for God and his love for man.

In this work Spinoza is seen as the Jewish schoolman with a stress on the desires—some good and some evil. The good life is that life in which good desires realized lead to the blessedness which is the goal of life.

Spinoza's is a new kind of Jewish scholastic philosophy, because it is pantheistic and not theistic. However, it is a philosophy which preserves much which Spinoza learned from Maimonides. Spinoza re-thinks Maimonides in terms of Descartes, but Cartesian though he is, Spinoza is creating a philosophy of freedom and blessedness. His Cartesianism does ultimately lead him to determinism and some Hobbesian features in politics, but in the *Book of God* it is freedom and blessedness which predominate. Thus the values of Spinoza are derived from mediaeval Jewish philosophy, the weaknesses are derived from Descartes. The *Book of God* helps us to discern the values of Spinoza in the history of Judaeo-Christian thought.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*Moral, Aesthetic and Religious Insight.* By Theodore Meyer Greene. Rutgers University Press, 1958. \$2.75.

This volume is admirably suited to the task of bringing to the reader an insight into the richness and significance of Neo-Kantian philosophy. Our author—like other Neo-Kantians—has used the *Critique of Pure Reason* as the key to Kant's method, but he has given it a new dimension by employing the concept of value as the clue to the true meaning of the thing-in-itself. Ritschl, Lotze and Windelband are Professor Greene's predecessors in making value the clue to the Kantian World-View. This conception of being as value is so interpreted by Greene that

he can use both James and Dewey, who are in their own particular way Kantians.

Professor Greene is happy in his transfiguration of Kant's *Critique of Judgement*. He rebuilds Kant's aesthetic theory in the light of a value interpretation of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. The "work of art," he says, "is an artist's evaluative interpretation of his own chosen subject matter." Art is not merely subjective, it is also objective, provided that it expresses abiding human values.

Professor Greene treats Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* as Kant's fourth Critique. By using value theory as his clue, he transforms Kant's religious philosophy as he does his aesthetic theory. Here Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* is at his service. Most Anglo-Saxons have little conception of the great development of philosophy of religion and theology by thinkers inspired by Kant. Of these, Professor Greene makes full use.

Professor Greene is true to the Neo-Kantian philosophy in denying to Christianity the position of the uniquely true religion. Christianity is one of the great religions, and those of us reared in it do well to be true to it. However, Professor Greene thinks that we are in error if we make it the unique revelation of God. True to this general theological method, it is St. Paul whom he often quotes, but seldom our Lord.

The reader should be grateful to Professor Greene for making us familiar with one of the great philosophies of our age, and for throwing light on a theology which is all too little known by most Anglicans. Our Prayer Book thought-patterns are patristic and mediaeval rather than Kantian, and Kant seems somewhat alien to us.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*Documents of Modern Political Thought.* Edited by T. E. Utey and J. Stuart Maclure. Cambridge University Press, 1957. \$3.75.

This is a source book of modern political thought, and has value because of the suitability of the material collected for the understanding of contemporary theories of government. The section on Representative Democracy reveals the variety of conceptions represented by exponents of constitutional liberalism as diverse as Locke and Barker. The Communists range from Marx to Khrushchev, without, of course, the variety shown by Democracy. Fascism and Nazism have scant space, but there is full range of both Roman and Protestant political thought. All but one of the Roman selections are papal encyclicals, and all but two of the Protestant selections are official pronouncements.

The value of such a work lies in the presentation to the student of (1) the significant differences in contemporary political ideology, and (2) the richness of political reflection in the present day. The editors are not attempting to lay bare the motives resulting in modern government, but

the ideas which implement and shape modern government. These ideas are important because they are a component of modern culture. And this book is significant because it brings these ideas to our attention.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*Christianity, Democracy and Technology.* By Zoltan Sztankay. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1957. \$3.75.

Our author, a professor at Valparaiso University, writes of his positive convictions about Christianity and its relations to history, and he does this by a refutation of Spengler's cycle theory of history. It seems to our author that the acceptance of Spengler is the great obstacle to the proper understanding of the cultural development of history. Let us leave aside his refutation of Spengler and deal with Sztankay's own conception of history.

He thinks that the cultural fruit of Christianity is democracy. According to him, democracy does not exist apart from Christianity and cannot exist apart from Christianity. More than this, he holds that the only possible fruition of true Christianity is democracy. Next, he believes that democracy is the source of technology, and that technology brings Christian democracy to its proper fruition. Just now, technology is coming into its own, and our author sees no possible limits to the benefits which may flow from it. Technology has made this one world, and it requires that we have one-world government expressing one-world culture. Hence, he opposes national cultures as dangerous to the one world we need. Such a culture must be Christian, because from Christianity has come this *one world* demanded by democracy and technology. Here is the true goal of history.

This is an interesting book and needs careful consideration. However, it does seem unwise to tie Christianity to technology. Agrarian Iceland is probably more Christian than industrial Germany; and it is not clear that Iceland will become more Christian by being industrialized. Also, the assumption that one world depends on industrialization is disproved by the empire of Spain, extending from the Mediterranean to the Philippines long before the days of aeroplanes and steamships. Also, the Seven Years' War was a global war, and was fought long before the industrial revolution. I believe there is a danger in linking Christianity too closely with technology—valuable though technology may be.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*Scientific View of Religion.* By Ethel Belle Morrow. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1957. \$5.00.

This work is written as a justification of Christianity; but it is a rather unusual defense. The underlying philosophy of the author is Hermetic and Theosophic. The positions taken have many affinities with those of what is called the *Liberal Catholic* movement, which is also Christianity rewritten in terms of Theosophy. Because of this Hermetic philosophy, alchemy is used to explain modern science, and late Neo-Platonism is used to explain modern psychology. The opening words of the Book of Genesis are read in terms of emanation, and the Pauline Epistles are interpreted in a Theosophical sense.

The interest of the book lies in the attempt to make Christianity a new syncretistic religion blended with ideas from the Middle and Far East to form a new system which is to have a world-wide appeal. The result is no longer Christian, but a new way of thought and life.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*Language and Religion.* By Ben F. Kimpel. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1957. \$3.75.

This work is not a philosophy of religion but a prolegomenon to both it and theology. There is a new philosophy abroad in the land which is asserting that all knowledge is linguistic, and that all we can do in our thinking is to make clear and consistent our assertions or statements. Such a philosophy denies the objectivity of our knowledge of a world independent of language. Such a denial of the reference of language to a meaning beyond itself is disastrous to religion. When the religious man says, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," he is referring to a Supreme Being beyond human thought. Hence the importance of Professor Kimpel's contention that language has value as an expression of our knowledge but does not constitute its truth value. That value is determined by a reference which our knowledge grasps but which transcends this knowledge.

Professor Kimpel does acknowledge the value of the new philosophy as a means of clarifying our forms of expression—in fact he favors the analytic criticism of poetry to such an extent that he himself becomes critical of the poetry of the Bible—but he is firm in his insistence that religion involves a reference to a reality transcending and independent of language. The book has the value of showing us the danger of the new linguistic philosophy for the theologian.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South.*



*The Birth of the Gospel.* By William Benjamin Smith. New York, Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxi+232.

William Benjamin Smith (1850-1934) was a most interesting person. After graduation from the University of Kentucky, he became instructor in English and Old Testament in that institution, and from it received an M.A., following which he was made adjunct professor of geology, zoology and botany. From 1877 to 1879, he studied physics and mathematics in the University of Göttingen, and returned to this country to become professor of physics at Central College, Fayette, Missouri. From there, he went to the University of Missouri, first as professor of physics and later of mathematics. In 1893, he went to Tulane University to teach mathematics, and in 1907 was made professor of philosophy there.

Maintaining throughout his life an interest in Biblical criticism, he published a number of pamphlets and magazine articles, mostly of a controversial nature. His two sizable books were *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (1906) and *Ecce Deus* (German, 1911, and English, 1912). The former was written "to make clear the existence of a movement antecedent, possibly by many decades, to the alleged date of the Gospel events, a movement that built up a non-terrestrial, subjective image of an immaterial and invisible Jesus. This book also upheld the conclusion that the Jesus of the Gospels was a non-factual materialization of this supra-terrestrial being." "The task of *Ecce Deus* . . . was to bring to light the allegorical and esoteric nature of the four Gospels" (p. xvii).

The present volume was completed in 1927, but did not find a publisher. Recently a group of Smith's friends "arrived at the opinion that it should still be possible after some editing, to present this invaluable study to the public." This was done under the editorship of Addison Gulick.

The thesis of the book can be simply stated: Jesus never lived. Christianity is a development of a Jewish movement to convert the world to monotheism, and is a modification of Judaism to make it more acceptable to Gentiles. "The Gospels as we now have them present the final result of the wide-spread, systematic, gradually growing, and long continued employment of a symbolic exposition to conform the divine Truth of Yahvism to the temper and prejudices of the Heathen mind and heart" (p. 137). Jesus is a purely ideal, mythological figure.

The case is argued with much erudition, but it is a matter of raking over dead coals. The answer to this sort of thing has been given by a number of able scholars, for example, Goguel in his *Life of Jesus*.

It would seem that the author's real target is the "liberal" attempt to find the "Jesus of history" by excising from the gospel narratives all references to miracle and eschatology. "Unless there was Deity blazing forth from his visage and echoing in his every word, the literal Jesus of the Gospels is entirely unintelligible in his relations with the people of Palestine; nothing but a perpetual *miracle of personality* could make understandable a single day of his Galilean or Judean ministry.

The efforts of liberal criticism to rationalize this story in non-miraculous terms grow daily more and more unsatisfying in spite of all the splendid powers deployed in the attempt" (p. 129).

This is a strong point, but the possibility seems not to have occurred to the author that Jesus was what the Church has continued to teach that He was, namely the Son of God, God Incarnate.

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*



*Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; Samaria, the Capital of the Kingdom of Israel; Babylon and the Old Testament.* (Vols. 6, 7, and 8 in *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*). By André Parrot. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. Each \$2.75.

These small monographs, by the Curator-in-chief of the French National Museums and Director of the now-famous archaeological expedition at Mari, can be unreservedly commended to the intelligent lay reader who wishes to learn with minimum effort and maximum pleasure what modern scientific archaeology has been able to contribute to our knowledge of certain significant areas of biblical history. Previous volumes in the same series have dealt with the Flood and the Ark, the Tower of Babel, Nineveh, the Journeys of Paul, and the Jerusalem Temple. The price may seem high for little books which run to only about 150 pages, but each volume is well-bound and lavishly illustrated. The general point of view is wisely (though not unduly) conservative and the material selected so as to enhance the reader's appreciation of the biblical text rather than create difficulties or involve him unnecessarily in the minutiae of archaeological science.

ROBERT C. DENTAN.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*



*The Core of the Bible.* By Austin Farrer. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. 95c.

The value of any effort to compress the essence of the Bible into 139 pp. by a process of selection and omission is exceedingly dubious. It has been done many times, but the result is usually more illuminating with respect to the faith of the author than that of the Bible. Farrer's attempt, certainly one of the more ingenious of this kind, is no exception to the rule. The brief introduction, in which the author admirably illustrates the unity of scripture by a sudden plunge into the Epistle to the Galatians, is almost worth the price of the volume, but the remain-

ing pages seem hardly likely to stimulate anyone to read the Bible who has not done so before or noticeably to deepen the understanding of those who are accustomed to read it regularly.

ROBERT C. DENTAN.



*Concise Dictionary of Judaism*. Edit. by Dagobert D. Runes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. \$5.00.

For a number of years this publisher has been engaged in producing a series of dictionaries covering, apparently, every subject which could conceivably be reduced to dictionary format. The result is, necessarily, a good deal of hack work, some of it genuinely helpful, some simply designed to sell. The present volume belongs distinctly to the latter category. It consists of only 237 pages, printed in large type with wide margins. The definitions, for the most part, are too brief to be of much value; the chronological scope, on the other hand, is much too ambitious, covering the whole period from Bible times to the establishment of the State of Israel (including a two-page chronology of the history of that state since 1948). It is difficult to imagine the reader to whom this collection of heterogeneous materials, scantily treated, would be really useful.

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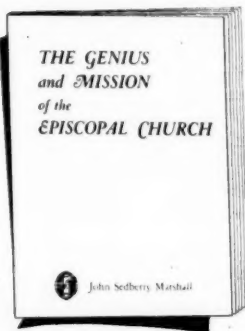
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